The Nation.

February 17, 1992 $1.75 U.S./$2.25 Canad

FEB 5

CL

UPSALA COLLEGE LIBR
PERIOD ACQUIS
EAST ORANGE NJ 07019

NANO3031549721 72 JUDEC92
*********3-DIGIT 070

EDITORIAL

THIS WON'T STAND, GEORGE

White House P.R. put it out in mid-January that President Bush's State of the Union Message would be the "defining moment" of his presidential term, superseding earlier occasions such as the massacre of Iraqis or the soiling of Prime Minister Miyazawa. He proved as good as their word. Bush defined his regime as inept and confused, cynical about economic recovery and incapable of making hard choices.

By turns peevish and cutesy, Bush proposed tax breaks for some sectors of the electorate, most notably for the top 1 percent of society (as Speaker Tom Foley later complained), who would benefit most from capital gains relief. Some proposals, such as the one to let people break and enter their I.R.A. accounts, would do more harm than good. The last thing the government should do is encourage citizens to spend down their old-age security. Others, such as the revised withholding schedule, might cheer up voters as they enter the polling booths but won't do much for the economy's long-term health.

More unfortunate than Bush's expected bromides, however, was the Democrats' response—not only Foley's uninspiring mumbles but the broader answers Democratic presidential candidates and Congressional leaders give to the urgent questions about America's economic future. Few Democrats believe the President's assertion that there's nothing wrong that the next uptick of the business cycle won't cure. But none of them are adequately addressing the deepening structural crisis with the necessary foresight or nerve.

For example, Bush started the ball rolling on substantial defense cutbacks—$50 billion over five years. But an economy that has prospered for fifty years through militarism will come crashing down unless a new system of productive public expenditure is installed. Bush's failure even to imagine such problems is not his alone.

NADER'S GAME
Micah L. Sifry

WHITTLE INC.
John S. Friedman

AFRICAN PRESS
Richard Carver
Dan Swanson

ATTICA AGAIN
Bruce Jackson

FREEDOM ROAD
Roger Wilkins

STALIN'S GRANDCHILDREN
Daniel Singer

WHITE RACISM
Lawrence B. Glickman
Dana Frank

THE UNION & THE BILLIONAIRE—I

WORKERS UNITED, A TOWN DIVIDED

DAVID CORN

Ravenswood, West Virginia

Betty Totten still gets weepy when she recalls what happened on Halloween night, 1990. Near midnight, she reported for work at the aluminum factory where she had spent more than thirty years in the laboratory that monitors and tests materials used and produced by the plant. The contract between the company, the Ravenswood Aluminum Corporation (R.A.C.), and her union, the United Steelworkers of America (U.S.W.A.), was set to expire in minutes. But the union leadership had instructed its members to go to their jobs at the factory, which overlooks the Ohio River. If the tense negotiations produced no last-minute contract, the union was willing to keep working while the talks continued. The managers and secretaries at the lab were surprised but delighted to see Totten and the other hourly employees. They all hugged.

Then the personnel office called. All unionized workers had to clear out. Hourly and salaried employees alike were stunned; some began to cry. "I spent my entire working adult life in the plant," Totten recalls, "and I was just thrown out." Hundreds of dazed employees filed out of the factory. The company brought in replacement workers it apparently had already recruited and told the union to go to hell. "Up to then, my life was set," says Totten, a twice-divorced 52-year-old whose two sons served in the Marines. She had a well-paid job, as did one of her sons, who also worked at the factory. She could afford an occasional trip to San Francisco (her favorite place in the world), hardcover editions of the novels of le Carré, Irving and Styron, con-

(*Continued on Page 198*)

07
08585
0 377535 6

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

EXCHANGE.

'DRUG TRIAL OF THE CENTURY'

Palatine, Ill.

How does a report on the "drug trial of the century" ["Noriega in Miami," Dec. 2] avoid the threshold question of the legality of a U.S. prosecution of a foreign national for violation of U.S. law based on acts and omissions taking place on foreign soil? All lawyers to whom I have put this question share my dismay. Those principles would justify kidnapping George Bush for trial in Iran for violation of fundamentalist Muslim Iranian law.

Richard A. Mugalian

HEROIN POLITICS

Madison, Wis.

Writing about my book *The Politics of Heroin*, Michael Massing dismisses its thesis that C.I.A. covert operations have allied with Third World drug lords. In his polemic, he ignores the clearest instance of such C.I.A. complicity and avoids any mention of the agency's own corroboration of my charges. During the forty years of the cold war, the C.I.A. made effectiveness its chief criterion in choosing covert-action allies, particularly along the southern frontiers of China and the Soviet Union, where opium warlords were often potent assets.

In 1971, I tracked the heroin trail from South Vietnam, where 34 percent of U.S. soldiers were using heroin, to Laos, where I discovered that the C.I.A.'s allies produced the drug. To confirm involvement by the commander of the Laotian Army, Gen. Ouane Rattikone, I raised the matter, albeit circumspectly, in an interview. The general admitted drug dealing and even opened his opium ledger, allowing me to copy the drug figures that appeared in my book. Significantly, when asked for comment, the U.S. Embassy denied that the general was in any way involved in drugs. To probe the C.I.A.'s policy on opium growing by its Hmong allies, I questioned opium farmers in one village who all said they shipped their harvest on the agency's airline, Air America. C.I.A. mercenaries ambushed my research team during our survey, forcing us to flee after a firefight. Several days later, a senior U.S. official, who, I suspect, was a C.I.A. agent, threatened to murder my Lao interpreter unless I ended my inquiries into the opium trade. I concluded that the C.I.A.'s Vientiane station had tolerated narcotics dealing by its drug lord allies, provided them with a de facto immunity from investigation and transported opium harvested by its Hmong allies.

My core findings were later confirmed in a classified report by the C.I.A.'s inspector general. After interviewing 120 U.S. officials, the inspector found agency alliances with senior Laotian military problematic: "The past involvement of many of these officers in drugs is well-known, and the continued participation of many is suspected; yet their goodwill . . . considerably facilitates the military activities of Agency-supported irregulars" (U.S. Senate Select Committee, *Foreign and Military Intelligence, Book I: Final Report*). With remarkable candor, the inspector explained his agency's tolerance of Laotian heroin dealing: "The war has clearly been our overriding priority in Southeast Asia, and all other issues have taken second place in the scheme of things. It would be foolish to deny this, and we see no reason to do so." In contrast, senior C.I.A. officials publicly denied any complicity in drugs—thus blocking reform and allowing a recurrence in Afghanistan. Indeed, on May 13, 1990, *The Washington Post* reported that U.S. officials "ignored firsthand accounts" from our Afghan allies about "heroin smuggling by commanders under Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, a guerrilla leader . . . who until recently was the foreign minister of the . . . U.S.-backed . . . Government." Lawrence Lifschultz has argued in *The Nation* that the C.I.A. policy of ignoring drug trafficking by its Afghan allies facilitated the rise of Pakistan and Afghanistan as the world's largest source of heroin in the early 1980s ["Inside the Kingdom of Heroin," Nov. 14, 1988]. I agree with Massing that it is time to divert our antinarcotics resources from foreign adventures to domestic treatment. But I do not think that Massing's intemperate, ideological reconstruction of U.S. foreign-policy failures will contribute to reform of our nation's narcotics policy.

Alfred W. McCoy

'COCAINE POLITICS'

Berkeley, Calif.

For years there has been intense resistance to acknowledging the collusion of the C.I.A. with international drug traffickers. Michael Massing's attack on Alfred McCoy's heavily documented *Politics of Heroin* is a typically dishonest example. McCoy argued that "smugglers were using C.I.A. covert operations to protect their cocaine shipments into the United States." Massing retorts that the cocaine that was moved on *contra* support aircraft was "insignificant." But McCoy showed how the sanctioning of the *contra* operation granted a de facto immunity from drug prosecutions to a much wider variety of C.I.A. collaborators.

As Jonathan Marshall and I wrote in *Cocaine Politics*, there were for example the Honduran Army generals, whose smuggling of arms to the *contras* licensed their deep involvement with drug smugglers. In 1987 the United States finally cracked down on Honduran Army–protected cocaine, with two seizures totaling 6.7 tons. In all, 9 tons were seized, compared with about 700 kilos from *contra* support networks.

Thus it is perverse to ignore the Honduran Army and reduce the problem of U.S.-protected cocaine to that of smuggling on *contra* support aircraft. But it is Massing, not McCoy, who thus distorts the picture. McCoy points out the complicity of the Honduran military in the cocaine traffic, and how, when the local D.E.A. agent reported this in 1983, his office was promptly closed down for almost five years.

Of McCoy's 634 pages, only six concern cocaine. Massing virtually ignores McCoy's much more detailed exposition of the heroin smuggled by the C.I.A.'s Afghan rebels. Before 1979 there had been no recorded trace of Afghan heroin in the United States; by 1984, after five years of the C.I.A. arms pipeline to the *mujahedeen*, 52 percent of U.S. heroin came from that area. McCoy described how Pakistani Army trucks shipped C.I.A. arms in and heroin out with impunity. Massing's sole retort is to call the "heroin industry" an "enterprise" that "certainly . . . doesn't need the C.I.A."

Massing concludes that the record of *contra* drug involvement "remains sketchy." Indeed! Witnesses have been deterred by deaths and bombings; officials and newspapers have lied; journalists have been prevented from publishing the story (see *Cocaine Politics* and *Extra!*). Only in this context could Massing so distort McCoy's argument, and then dare to call it "absurd."

Peter Dale Scott

'COP-OUT' POLITICS

Washington

Michael Massing's assessment is right on target. While the government's overt complicity with drug runners in some cases and its willful ignorance in many others is significant, it does not explain the massive global drug trade. Two more basic factors have spurred its growth: the American people's demand and the prohibition on supply. The government's persistence in drug prohibition is its most significant complicity with drug traffickers. Liberal commentators avoid discussing this reality, preferring to promote the "C.I.A.-caused-the-drug-problem" hypothesis. Frankly, it's a cop-out. Those in government who look the other way while drug trafficking occurs must be held accountable, of course, but in the broader context of our drug problem the C.I.A.'s intermittent involvement with traffickers is of truly minor importance.

Dave Fratello
Drug Policy Foundation

MASSING REPLIES

New York City

Richard Mugalian makes a good point; I didn't directly address it because I assumed it would be obvious to most *Nation* readers.

If McCoy, Scott and all the other C.I.A. buffs maintained simply that the agency knows about, tolerates and sometimes condones drug trafficking by its friends, it would be impossible to dispute them. But when they go on to assert that the C.I.A. is actively promoting, and even helping to expand, the international drug trade, it's impossible to take them seriously. In a passage from *The Poli-*

(Continued on Page 212)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CONTENTS.

Volume 254, Number 6

EXCHANGE

182 *Richard A. Mugalian, Alfred W. McCoy, Peter Dale Scott, Dave Fratello, Michael Massing*

EDITORIALS

181 This Won't Stand, George
183 Who's Left?
184 Stone's Opening
185 Nader's Progress — *Micah L. Sifry*

COLUMNS

185 What Buchanan Is Saying — *Calvin Trillin*
186 Minority Report — *Christopher Hitchens*
187 Cap'n Bushy — *Robert Grossman*

ARTICLES

181 The Union and the Billionaire—I: Workers United, a Town Divided — *David Corn*
188 The Whittle-Alexander Nexus: Big Business Goes to School — *John S. Friedman*
192 *Le Messager* and the Message: Africa's Press of Freedom — *Richard Carver and Dan Swanson*
194 State Murder on Trial: Judgment Day on the Attica Case — *Bruce Jackson*
196 A Promise Redeemed: One Man's Bill of Rights — *Roger Wilkins*

BOOKS & THE ARTS

202 Stalin's Grandchildren — *Daniel Singer*
205 Paz: The Other Voice: Essays on Modern Poetry; Fuentes: The Campaign — *Ilan Stavans*
207 Roediger: The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class — *Lawrence B. Glickman*
209 Blee: Women of the Klan: Racism and Gender in the 1920s — *Dana Frank*
211 Halpern: Foreign Neon — *Alfred Corn*

Illustrations by Lisa Blackshear

Editor, Victor Navasky

Executive Editor, Richard Lingeman; *Associate Editors*, Andrew Kopkind, Katha Pollitt; *Assistant Editor*, Micah L. Sifry; *Literary Editor*, Elsa Dixler; *Associate Literary Editor*, Art Winslow; *Poetry Editor*, Grace Schulman; *Managing Editor*, JoAnn Wypijewski; *Copy Chief*, Roane Carey; *Copy Editor*, Judith Long; *Assistant Copy Editor*, Anne-Marie Otey; *Assistant to the Editor*, Dennis Selby; *Interns*, Lucas Dreamer, Bryce Hoffman, Will Murphy, Elizabeth Seay, Abigail Severance, Erika Shore, Paul Webster.

Departments: *Architecture*, Jane Holtz Kay; *Art*, Arthur C. Danto; *Dance*, Mindy Aloff; *Fiction*, John Leonard; *Films*, Stuart Klawans; *Lingo*, Jim Quinn; *Music*, David Hamilton, Edward W. Said, Gene Santoro; *Theater*, Thomas M. Disch, Moira Hodgson; *Bureaus*: *Washington*, David Corn; *Europe*, Daniel Singer; *United Kingdom*, E.P. Thompson; *Paris*, Claude Bourdet; *Corporations*, Robert Sherrill; *Defense*, Michael T. Klare; *Columnists and Regular Contributors*: Alexander Cockburn (*Beat the Devil*), Stephen F. Cohen (*Sovieticus*), Christopher Hitchens (*Minority Report*), Aryeh Neier (*Watching Rights*), Elizabeth Pochoda (*Reading Around*), Edward Sorel, Calvin Trillin; *Contributing Editors*: Kai Bird, George Black, Thomas Ferguson, Doug Henwood, Max Holland, Molly Ivins, Jefferson Morley, Katha Pollitt, Joel Rogers, Kirkpatrick Sale, Herman Schwartz, Ted Solotaroff, Michael Thomas, Gore Vidal, Jon Wiener; *Editorial Board*: Norman Birnbaum, Richard Falk, Frances FitzGerald, Philip Green, Elinor Langer, Deborah W. Meier, Toni Morrison, Michael Pertschuk, Elizabeth Pochoda, Neil Postman, Marcus G. Raskin, David Weir, Roger Wilkins. *Editors at Large*, Richard Pollak, Katrina vanden Heuvel.

Manuscripts: Address to "The Editor." Not responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts unless accompanied by addressed, stamped envelopes.

Publisher, Arthur L. Carter

President, Neil Black; *Advertising Director*, Ellen Jarvis; *Classified Advertising Director*, Gary Pomerantz; *Business Manager*, Ann B. Epstein; *Bookkeepers*, Ivor A. Richardson, Shirleathia Watson; *Art/Production Manager*, Jane Sharples; *Production*, Carlos Durazo, Sandy McCroskey; *Circulation*: *Director*, Elizabeth Brown, *Manager*, Cookee V. Klein; *Receptionists*, Greta Loell, Vivette Dhanukdhari; *Data Entry/Mail Coordinator*, John Holtz; *Administrative Secretary*, Shirley Sulat; *Nation Associates Coordinators*, Peter Rothberg, Peter Siskind; *Permissions/Syndication*, Josh Neufeld; *Publicity*, Andrew L. Shapiro; *Advertising Consultant*, Chris Calhoun.

The Nation (ISSN 0027-8378) is published weekly (except for the first week in January, and biweekly in July and August) by The Nation Company, Inc. © 1992 in the U.S.A. by The Nation Company, Inc. 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. (212) 242-8400. *Washington Bureau:* Suite 308, 110 Maryland Avenue N.E., Washington, DC 20002. (202) 546-2239. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY, and at additional mailing offices. International Telex: 667 155 NATION. Subscription orders, changes of address and all subscription inquiries: *The Nation*, P.O. Box 10763, Des Moines IA 50340-0763. *Subscription Price*: 1 year, $44; 2 years, $75. Add $18 for surface mail postage outside U.S. Missed issues must be claimed within 60 days (120 days foreign) of publication date. **Please allow 4-6 weeks for receipt of your first issue and for all subscription transactions.** Back issues $4 prepaid ($5 foreign) from: *The Nation*, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. *The Nation* is available on microfilm from: University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106. Member, Audit Bureau of Circulations. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *The Nation*, P.O. Box 10763, Des Moines IA 50340-0763. This issue went to press on January 30.

EDITORIALS.

Who's Left?

All five major Democratic presidential candidates want to be liberals—at least when they appear before hundreds of progressive activists and elected officials. At a forum in Washington, D.C., sponsored by the Rainbow Coalition, each contender either claimed to be a liberal—even Bill Clinton seemed to refer to himself as one—or promised to back enough liberal notions to qualify for membership in the political fellowship that four years ago dared not speak its name. Addressing a crowd made up largely of African-Americans, the candidates eagerly paid tribute to Jesse Jackson. Jerry Brown hinted that he would ask the Reverend to be his running mate. Clinton congratulated Jackson for preaching against drugs as early as 1977. Bob Kerrey hailed him for talking about health care in the 1984 and 1988 campaigns. Tom Harkin thanked him for help-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing the Democrats win back the Senate in 1986.

Politicians pander; it's part of the job. For those shopping for a candidate—and many in the audience were—the hard task is distilling the genuine from the con. Minutes before Kerrey appeared, he was planning to confront the crowd—to demonstrate (if only to the media) his independent-mindedness by telling the Rainbow assembly he had no intention of passing its or anyone else's litmus test. "You have 600 of the best progressive activists in America out there," a Rainbow associate advised Kerrey. "You have to say you want to be the Rainbow candidate." When he took the stage, Kerrey professed his heartfelt support for choice, child care, D.C. statehood and on-site voter registration. "I am prepared," he gushed, "to let the Rainbow Coalition take credit for my victory." His strategy worked. Black radio mogul Percy Sutton, one of the panelists who questioned the candidates all too politely, told Kerrey that his support for the death penalty bothered him but added, "I rather like you and would like to see you successful."

All the candidates cast enough lures. The quintet agreed on many liberal apple pie issues: tougher environmental standards, D.C. statehood and, of course, universal health care. Brown effectively delivered his the-system-is-corrupt-and-unjust pitch and touted his record of appointing racial minorities and women to office. Clinton cited his efforts to "create a real rainbow" in Arkansas and decried growing income inequity and Republican race-baiting, pledging he would "jam it" to a G.O.P. that tried to play the race card. He called for tax credits for the working poor, a tax hike for the rich and a national network of development banks for depressed areas. In defending his support of capital punishment, Clinton boasted that he was the only Southern Governor ever to veto a bill pushed by the National Rifle Association. Brown and Kerrey called for nontraditional measures to fight crime. The candidates raised a chorus for more money for social programs and less for defense—with Harkin calling for the biggest, and most specific, cuts. Harkin also had the most enthusiasm for shifting the tax burden upward. He proposed government jobs programs and extolled his support for organized labor. Paul Tsongas pressed his steady commitment to gay rights and choice.

All this left the delegates with no clear consensus. Jackson showed no favoritism. Brown, he said, "must be taken seriously and be judged by his ideas." He lauded Kerrey for trying "to raise the moral center of our consciousness." He expressed gratitude to Harkin for the Senator's assistance in Iowa during 1988. In the audience, support could be found for each of the five. For some the choice has more to do with politics than policy. Point by point, the agendas pressed by Brown and Harkin are the closest to that of the Rainbow Coalition. But some progressive activists, particularly those who had signed up with Clinton (and prior to the Gennifer Flowers scandal he had snagged several), say they are guided by that foggy, media-driven factor "electability," a code word in certain quarters for "not a liberal." With many Jacksonian Democrats, passion is trumped by practicality. After Brown cried that America "is being dragged down by greedy elites," Representative Charles Rangel embraced him, shouted "You were terrific" and insisted his photo be taken with him. Following Clinton's turn, a sedate Rangel told a newscaster the Arkansan "did a good job." When a reporter, citing Rangel's reactions, asked if he thought Brown was the better candidate on the issues, Rangel froze for twenty seconds. The wheels whirred. Then he snapped "Gotta go" and scooted off. Several delegates said they preferred Harkin—"He's almost a white Jesse Jackson," remarked Christina Montague, a County Commissioner from Michigan—but were put off by the media reports that question his electability.

Robert Borosage, a longtime political strategist of the left and adviser to Jackson, happily observed that the "notable thing is how progressive the field is." Perhaps it is a credit to Jackson and to the Rainbow Coalition, an entity whose national organizing potential is questionable, that the candidates came, recited portions of the correct litany, had their pictures taken with Jackson and gathered or reinforced support. Then they went on to their next campaign stops. The wooing of progressives will truly matter only if it is transformed from a courtship into a permanent commitment.

Stone's Opening

Recently, the Dallas Police Department announced it would release its files on the Kennedy assassination. Representative Louis Stokes, who was chairman of the Select Committee on Assassinations, is drafting a House resolution to authorize the release of the remaining files of the committee's 1977-79 inquiry, as well as the release of the files of all government agencies.

All this suggests that whatever one thinks of the ins and outs, ups and downs, highways, byways and cul-de-sacs of the conspiracy theory that dramatically unfolds in Oliver Stone's *JFK*, the movie is a powerful one and has already had a profound sociopolitical impact. Ransacking our literary, theatrical and cinematic history for works that caused similar rufflings of the *Zeitgeist* (though in different ways) one comes up with *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, *The Birth of a Nation*, *Waiting for Lefty* and *The Grapes of Wrath*.

Stone's film posited a counterimage to the Warren Commission's findings with such force that the public is now ready to take a fresh look at the evidence, old and new—indeed demands it. Whatever one thinks of the real-life Jim Garrison, his movie incarnation, played by Kevin Costner, embarks on a cinematic quest that takes him into back alleys and dark corners of the national life—places where many believe the Warren Commission refused to go. Or so the lingering residue of popular skepticism about its findings strongly suggests. Stone's job was not to "solve" the actual crime; it was to make effective cinema of the political forces that were, in the words of one of the film's characters, "in the air." In this he has succeeded and the culture is the richer for it.

We have received scores of letters taking issue with this or that *Nation* contributor's theory about what John F. Kennedy would or would not have done in Vietnam had he lived. The debate on these issues will be played out on our Letters page in a future issue. For now, we salute Oliver Stone and his co-writer, Zachary Sklar, for doing what assassination buffs

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and conspiratologists of all stripes had previously been unable to do—rivet popular attention on a murky event in American history and create the pressure needed to disgorge the documents that can help illuminate it.

Nader's Progress

"I'm 'none of the above,' and I'm not running for President. I'm running for a citizen's empowerment agenda," says Ralph Nader. That's the closest thing to a soundbite that Nader will give to describe his growing write-in effort as an independent in the February 18 New Hampshire primary, and it encapsulates everything that is invigorating, confusing and potentially transformative about his evolving campaign.

Nader really isn't like any of the above. He's not on the phone half the day fundraising, not repeating a canned stump speech, not being "handled" and "packaged" by consultants and pollsters. He has no endorsements from party functionaries, no "spin doctors" telling the media what to say about him. Indeed, he's had only a glimmer of national press attention. He's also not lacking in grass-roots interest and support. In the four days in mid-January I followed him in Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Vermont, he spoke to nearly 3,000 people. Each stop garnered hundreds of volunteers for his New Hampshire operation, which has opened offices in four key cities and has field organizers in every county.

Nader is also unlike many a traditional liberal or progressive. For all their sensitivity to issues of concern to those constituencies [see "Who's Left?" on page 183], none of the other candidates are talking about what is, and has always been, the central issue of American politics: the unequal distribution of power. Rather than court audiences by promising to deliver on this or that, Nader focuses on the country's change "from a democracy into a plutocracy." He rails against "the avaricious triumph of corporatism." Then he explains how people acting together as voters, consumers, taxpayers and workers could restructure society if they controlled what they already owned and had an array of "new democratic tools" to mobilize and pursue common interests [see Sifry, "The 'None of the Above' Candidate," December 23].

Not everyone gets it. "Disaffected voters and Reagan Democrats are a lot more excited about what's going on here than progressives," says Ken Deutsch, New Hampshire coordinator for the Nader campaign. "They're the hardest to get on board." In Concord, Nader spoke before the Citizens' Budget Campaign, a coalition of peace and domestic needs groups and religious organizations. After talking about citizens taking control of the airwaves, public lands and pension funds, he tried to convince his audience of the power they would gain. "See how essentially invulnerable these proposals are ideologically," he noted. "What are they going to accuse you of, ownershipism?" People laughed appreciatively, but the first question someone asked was his position on arms control.

Many of the Concord activists were supportive of Nader, but several told me they were leaning toward Harkin, fearful of wasting their vote. Nader is critical of such thinking, calling it "the demanding supplicant" style of activism. "These people are caught in a cul-de-sac of protest and demand, protest and demand," he told me. "They are so convinced of the righteousness of their cause that they can't step back and build the tools necessary to advance it." That may well be true, but Nader could reach many more progressives simply by conveying more concretely how strengthening democracy would advance all their agendas.

Progressives aren't the only people in the state worried about throwing away their vote on a protest candidate. "How many times do you have to be taught every four years that you're throwing your vote away by voting *for* these people?" Nader replies, usually to sustained applause. But he and the "Draft Nader" organization still have to clarify where they're going. Is this a pro-democracy movement or Nader testing the waters? (It could be both.) At times, Nader urges people to write in his name simply to force the other candidates to adopt all or part of his citizen agenda. But he criticizes these politicians so strongly as "bought or rented" that it's hard to believe he would close up shop if, say, Clinton endorsed total public financing of elections.

In sharp contrast to 1976, when he removed his name from the Massachusetts ballot, Nader has permitted his name to be placed on the Democratic ballot in the March 10 primary there. Depending on how things go, he may enter other primaries and/or continue his write-in effort. "I subscribe to playing a hundred chess games at once," Nader told me, and he's now making one of the biggest moves of his life. The volatile anti-incumbent anger banging around the political landscape—in the opposition to Congressional pay raises, demands for term limits and the like—could well coalesce this spring around this quintessential outsider. Consider one straw in the wind: After a visit from Nader on January 25, at least one of the twenty-nine voters of Dixville Notch, the northern town that gets up early to vote first in the nation, changed her mind. Gail Barba, owner of the Balsams Grand Resort Hotel, resigned as chairwoman of the local Bush/Quayle re-election campaign. She says she's voting for Nader.

MICAH L. SIFRY

★

What Buchanan Is Saying

I'll say the things you really think—just try me.
Conservatives who loathe this Bush all buy me.
Complaints that I'm a bigot mystify me.
I'm not like Duke, whose thoughts and past are slimy.
In point of fact, no trueborn Yanks decry me.
No, those opposed are all, by chance, named Hymie.

Calvin Trillin

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MINORITY REPORT.

CHRISTOPHER HITCHENS

Describing a riot of vicious Oxford upper-class "hearties" against weedy "aesthetes" in his *Decline and Fall*, Evelyn Waugh depicted the mob as it "tore up Mr. Partridge's sheets, and threw the Matisse into his water jug; Mr. Sanders had nothing to break except his windows, but they found the manuscript at which he had been working for the Newdigate Prize Poem, and had great fun with that."

The image came back to me after visiting an exhibition titled "Degenerate Art," which detailed the fate of the avant-garde in Nazi Germany and which made its way, via Los Angeles and Washington, around the country before moving on to Berlin. Here were paintings and sculptures that the Hitlerites themselves had once exhibited, like carcasses on hooks and without their cultural context, to gratify the philistinism of an outraged public. Even the word for art was placed in heavily sarcastic inverted commas (*Entartete "Kunst"*) on the 1937 advertising posters, as if to confirm the opinion of any *Kleinburger* who has ever said, "Call this art? My 3-year-old could do better."

The original exhibit was the result of organized theft from German museums, presided over by something called the Ziegler Commission, which was appointed by Goebbels. Count Klaus von Baudissin was one of its members—he had distinguished himself by cleansing the museum in Essen of "offensive" modern art—and it was his figure that reminded me of the saturnalia of Yahooism sketched by Waugh. What fun they must have had!

When this exhibit opened in Washington last fall, the responsible newspapers and critics cautioned us at once. It was a fine and sobering thing, they said, to see the extent of pillage and desecration inflicted upon German culture by the National Socialists. No doubt some facile people would try to draw parallels between this and the mean, stupid campaign of Jesse Helms and others against the National Endowment for the Arts. On no account was one to fall for anything as propagandistic as that comparison. I went to the gallery with an almost prophylactic reluctance to make any such trite analogy.

But the interesting thing is the near-perfect symmetry between the Nazi critique of modernism and the American chauvinist one. Once Goebbels had made his two general critiques of modern art—which were that it was "incomprehensible and elitist" and that art criticism should therefore be forbidden because it stood in the way of a healthy public making up its own mind—and once Hitler at Nuremberg had warned that "anyone who seeks the new for its own sake strays all too easily into the realm of folly," certain specific offenses began to be defined. Among those were: "Insolent Mockery of the Divine"; "Deliberate Sabotage of National Defense"; "An Insult to German Womanhood"; and "Crazy at Any Price," a reflection of the Nazi loathing of psychoanalysis. By those criteria, Ludwig Gies's *Kruzifixus* carving, for example, was twice damned. First, because it threw Calvary in the spectator's face as few things had since the painting of Grünewald, and, second, because it had been used as a First World War memorial in Lübeck.

Like most people who hadn't seen his work before, I came out of the exhibition wanting to know more about Otto Dix. His etching series *Der Krieg* alone was worth the price of the ticket, and a Berlin retrospective of his stuff, which I have since visited, is on its way to these shores and must be seen at any cost. Although he was associated with the Dada school, his work on the trenches and gas warfare makes even the most untutored critic say "Goya" almost at once. It is interesting to learn that the young Konrad Adenauer, later the conservative hero of the cold war, stopped the acquisition of Dix by a museum in Cologne as early as 1925. Like the rest of the German right—like the right at all times and in all places—Adenauer could not tolerate attacks on religion or anything else that might lead to the questioning of blood sacrifice in war. Once let that happen and there would be free love and legal homosexuality. This overt and latent connection is present throughout the "Degenerate Art" exhibit, which is particularly obsessed with "family values" and gay life, and quite warrants the contemporary connection that we are not supposed to be making.

So does the red sticker affixed by the Nazi philistines to many of the purloined artifacts. *Bezahlt von den Steuergroschen des arbeitenden deutschen Volkes*, it reads. "Paid for by the taxes of the German working people." Of course, there's nothing like the inciting phrase "taxpayers' money."

E.M. Forster gave two lectures on Nazism in which he correctly pointed out that you had to see what the Nazis had done to Germany if you wanted to imagine what they would do to "us." I had expected the exhibition to be heavily racist and nationalist, which it was, but not in the way I had anticipated. Most of the artists who were held up to hatred in the *Entartete "Kunst"* campaign were, so to say, "pure" Germans, accused of race treason by virtue of their attitudes to war, piety, morality and loyalty. Only six of the 112 artists in the exhibition were Jewish.

Perhaps that's less surprising at a second consideration, since the author of the concept of *Entartung* ("Degeneration") in German and Western culture was Max Nordau, who published a windy and nasty book by that name in 1892. Ridiculing the Symbolists as much as the Pre-Raphaelites, Zola as much as Ibsen, Nordau asserted the superiority of the Germanic culture and wrote that a breakdown was coming, which meant: "To the voluptuary, unbridled lewdness and the unchaining of the beast in man. To the withered heart of the egotist, disdain of all consideration for his fellow-men. . . . To the believer it meant the repudiation of dogma, the negation of a super-sensuous world. To the sensitive nature, yearning for aesthetic thrills, it meant the vanishing of ideals in art." George Bernard Shaw wrote quite a lampoon on Nordau, mocking him and saying, "This theory of his is, at bottom, nothing but the familiar delusion that the world is going to the dogs." Disappointed as a cultural critic, Nordau went on to become, with Herzl, one of the founders of political Zionism. I have no idea how the Nazis reconciled their annexation of his concept of degeneracy, but it teaches one to beware strenuous art critics who know what they like.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BY ROBERT GROSSMAN
CAP'N BUSHY
ONCE THEY WERE OUR ENEMIES BUT NOW THEY ARE OUR ENEMIES!! ~THE CRAFTY INHABITANTS OF SUSHI-LAND!
WE ARE THE NEW WORLD HORS D'OEUVRES!
THE SQUIRREL-IN-CHIEF FLIES A MISSION OVER SUSHI-LAND WITH THE HEADS OF THE FLIVVER, JALOPY AND HEAP CORPORATIONS. THEIR PLAN: TO PUNISH THE SUSHI-LANDERS WITH A DOWNPOUR OF FLIVVERS JALOPIES AND HEAPS.
LET'S GIVE OURSELVES BIG RAISES FOR THINKING OF THIS!
BUT THE ATTACK FAILS AS THE AUTOS BECOME A HARMLESS DRIZZLE OF NUTS AND BOLTS BEFORE THEY HIT THE GROUND.
THE WHOLE EXPERIENCE MAKES CAP'N BUSHY CARSICK!
SO OUR SHRUBBY HERO IS HAPPY TO GET HOME WHERE AT LEAST HE WILL BE AMONG ENEMIES!!
IN THE WOODS OF NEW HAMSTER A STRANGE GROUP OF CREATURES REHEARSES A FEARSOME WAR DANCE!
BUSHY, BUSHY, YOUR POLLS ARE SQUOOSHY,
BETTER WATCH OUT,
OR WE'LL KICK YOUR
OW!
YOU STEPPED ON MY FOOT!
GIMME A DOLLAR.
STEP ON MY FOOT.
I'M FOR THE UNDER-DOG!
YOU STEPPED ON MINE!
THE GOOD ONE!
THE GOLDEN-VOICED PAUL TSONGBIRD
THE ASCETIC JERRY BROWNBAGGER
TOM BARKIN SOME KIND OF MIDWESTERN DOG
BOB KERRYBLUETERRIER THE DOG-FACE DOG
AND BILL CHIMPTON WHO IS THE PRIMARY PRIMATE
WELL IT'S COMFORTING TO KNOW YOUR ENEMIES ARE EACH OTHER'S ENEMIES —AND I CAN ALWAYS COUNT ON MY OWN PARTY.
KNOCK KNOCK
WHY BAT PUCHANAN!
JUST POPPED IN TO REMIND YOU I WANT YOUR JOB AND I'M NOT DAVID DUCK!
OKAY, WHICH ONE OF THESE DARNED GUYS DO I TACKLE FIRST?
R-RING!
YES IT'S SADDY THE BADDY- THE MOST DISGUSTING LIFE FORM EVER TO SLITHER OUT OF THE MESOPOTAMIAN SWAMPS!
HEE HEE!
WILLIE HORTON CALLING!

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ARTICLES.

THE WHITTLE-ALEXANDER NEXUS

Big Business Goes to School

JOHN S. FRIEDMAN

Channel One, the controversial TV news program for schools, will be televised for the first time in Russia this spring. In the United States, the program is watched every school day in more than 9,000 schools by 6.6 million teenagers—almost a third of all teen students. In fact, more adolescents watch the twelve-minute program than watch the three top network shows combined. In Russia, Channel One will be televised on a test basis in schools in Moscow and St. Petersburg.

But the expansion of Channel One into Russia and its continuing success in America are less significant than another Whittle Communications project, perhaps the most ambitious educational initiative ever undertaken by an American company. In the next few years, Whittle hopes to reshape education by opening a nationwide chain of 200 private schools for profit.

Chris Whittle, chairman and founder of Whittle Communications, represents the new intersection between business and education. Until recently, corporate America, for the most part, has avoided direct involvement in education. But it has now turned to the classroom. The Bush Administration is the point of entry and Chris Whittle is the point man.

Herbert Christopher Whittle is 44 years old. He grew up in Etowah, Tennessee, and earned a B.S. degree in American studies from the University of Tennessee, where he was president of the student body. He began his business career publishing a guide for college freshmen. By 1979 his publishing company was doing well enough to buy and revitalize *Esquire*, which he later turned over to a former partner. Whittle likes to portray himself as a successful businessman and says he hasn't decided if he is a Republican or a Democrat. In fact, his political and financial connections, particularly his many interlocking ties with Education Secretary Lamar Alexander, suggest an agenda far beyond party affiliation.

Whittle Communications is a media company whose properties include specialized magazines, books that contain advertising, a television/magazine service for physicians' offices, wall posters and televised programming. The centerpiece is Channel One.

The Whittle formula is ingenious. His company lends the schools TVs, VCRs and satellite dishes to receive the programming and then wires the system. Besides Channel One, the Whittle Educational Network includes an hour or two a day of noncommercial, educational programming, which is supplied by a regional public TV station, and an occasional professional development program for teachers. In exchange, schools agree to show Channel One to most students on 92 percent of the days in which school is in session.

When Channel One began, the national P.T.A. and a number of other educational organizations opposed it vociferously because of the two minutes of ads on every Channel One program. Critics such as Bill Honig, California state superintendent of public instruction, accused Whittle of "converting the educational purpose of a school to a commercial one."

Buoyed by its $102 million in gross annual revenues from Channel One, Whittle Communications is looking for ways to expand. About nine months ago, Whittle unveiled a plan to "invent," build and open 200 private schools by 1996. His plan resembles the Education Department's original proposal to create some 535 experimental schools by the same year. Referring to his "new American schools," Whittle even echoes some of the rhetoric used by the Bush Administration in its "America 2000" education goals, announced about the same time. Whittle's schools would serve all children from "age 0 to 18," he told *Education Week*. Most likely there would be no admission requirements. If demand exceeded available space, applicants would be selected at random. Tuition for each school would probably be just below the per-pupil cost of public education in its community. Whittle would try to hold the cost of operating his schools to less than that of public schools. One way, he suggests, would be to "harness student power" to reduce support staff. Students might be required to work in the schools, possibly by replacing maintenance or clerical staff or by performing some functions of teachers. (Of course, another way to make such schools profitable would be to reduce the number of teachers by using electronic teaching devices.)

These schools would debut the high-tech school of the future. Students could spend up to three hours a day, Whittle suggests, operating a new electronic learning system that "might include a monitor, printer, computer, CD-ROM, paintboard, fax—even a phone and stereo." He also suggests that pupils might spend up to an additional hour a day watching special television programming.

Whittle estimates that $2.5 billion to $3 billion will be required to put his first 200 schools into operation. By the year 2010, there could be 1,000 campuses, according to Whittle executives, each with day care facilities and elementary, middle and high schools.

For *their* experimental public schools, President Bush and Secretary Alexander want private industry initially to donate $150 million to $200 million for research and development. The federal government would provide start-up grants to model schools, which later would have to rely primarily on local or state funding.

Herbert Kohl, a leading educational theorist and author of numerous books, believes that the Whittle schools and the Administration's new schools all conform to the education agenda of the right wing. "The goal is to set up a limited num-

John S. Friedman is a journalist who writes on culture and politics.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ber of exemplary schools," he said, "high-tech schools that pay little attention to teaching moral sensibility and social responsibility. The new schools would represent the privatization of public education. Combined with the voucher system [which lets parents apply tax dollars toward the cost of any school they choose], we would have the corporate plan for education in place—to the ultimate detriment of poor people."

Whittle has said that the $60 million needed for the first, or blueprint, phase of his schools would come from a "variety of sources: our earnings, existing partners, new partners." As he becomes a significant influence in education, Whittle's partners and advisers will be decisive. Who are they? Fifty percent of Whittle Communications is owned by Time Warner. In 1988, before it merged with Warner, Time Inc. acquired the stock for an initial payment of $180 million (Time Warner has an option to buy another 30 percent, and if the option is ever exercised, Whittle can stipulate that the company purchase the remaining 20 percent). By wiring schools to receive Channel One, Whittle accomplished part of a long-unfulfilled goal of Time—the electronic classroom. Time was one of the first corporations to see the business possibilities of merging technology with education. In 1966 Time and General Electric formed the General Learning Corporation (G.L.C.) to integrate "electronic capability with educational materials." But in the mid-1960s schools didn't have any money to spend on computers, which were large and expensive, so the really ambitious computer-related products were never produced by G.L.C., notes Curtis Prendergast in *The World of Time Inc.* G.L.C.'s software became low-tech, such as records and filmstrips, and by 1974 the company was sold. Some fifteen years later Chris Whittle, with his new partner, Time, had the shrewd idea of supplying schools with equipment they otherwise could not afford and charging advertisers for access to classrooms. So eager are Whittle and Time Warner to exploit this market further that Whittle will manage or provide educational computer software and hardware to public and private schools.

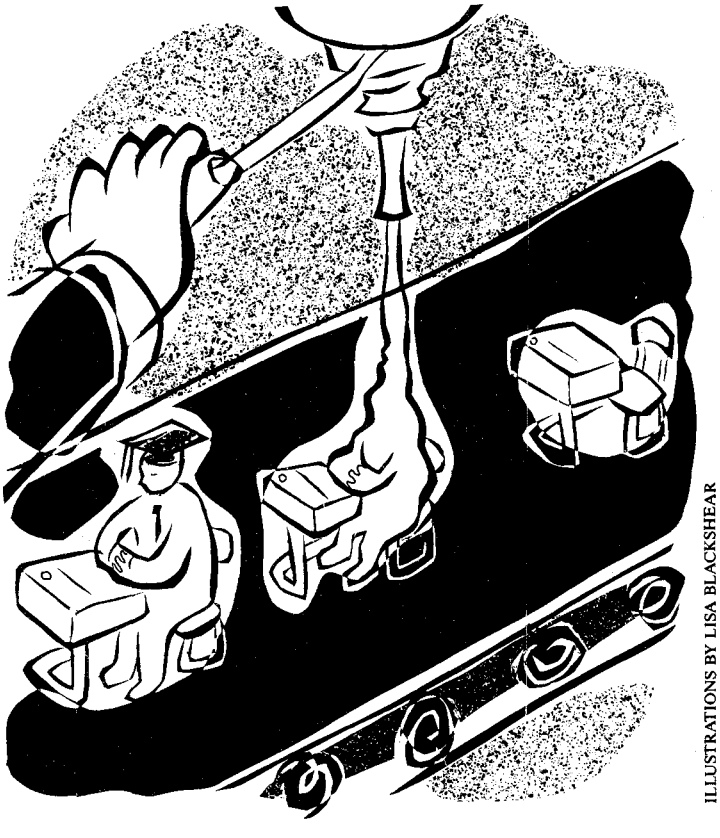
The second corporate partner in Whittle Communications is Associated Newspapers Holdings, a diversified British media company, which owns 33 percent of Whittle. The chairman of Associated is Viscount Rothermere (Vere Harmsworth). Lord Rothermere's Associated Newspapers publishes three London tabloids, *The Daily Mail*, *The Mail on Sunday* and *The Evening Standard*. The flagship paper, *The Daily Mail*, was a staunch supporter of Margaret Thatcher when she was prime minister. Editorials on South Africa, for example, matched her opinion that only limited sanctions were required.

While foreign ownership of network television stations is restricted under F.C.C. rules, such rules do not apply to satellite broadcasters like Whittle. Nevertheless, Associated's partial ownership of Channel One raises questions about possible foreign influence over the content of the curriculum.

As for Whittle's relationship with the Bush Administration, it is cozy. Although not a partner in Whittle Communications, Lamar Alexander, Bush's top education official, has, in his own words, been "a good close friend for twenty years" of Chris Whittle. The Alexander-Whittle connection is significant because of Alexander's key position in formulating education policy and programs. Conservative educational theorists and business leaders are important influences on Whittle and Alexander. For example, Chester Finn Jr., the education maven of the right wing who served in the Nixon White House and later was a top policy-maker at the Education Department under Reagan, is also an old friend of Alexander's. "He worked very closely with me on America 2000," Alexander said when interviewed by telephone. Finn, a professor of education and public policy at Tennessee's Vanderbilt University, is advising Whittle on his new schools as well.

David Kearns, longtime C.E.O. of the Xerox Corporation (he relinquished the post in 1990), is Alexander's high-profile Deputy Secretary of Education. From 1978 until he became Deputy Secretary, Kearns was on the board of directors of Time and then Time Warner. Like Time, Xerox recognized the revenue potential of technology in the schools in the mid-1960s. In 1987 Xerox gave $5 million in seed money to the Institute for Research on Learning, a think tank in Palo Alto, California, that specializes in developing new ways to use technology in the classroom. When the New American Schools Development Corporation (N.A.S.D.C.), a private, nonprofit organization, was formed by business and corporate leaders last spring at the President's request to provide research and development funds for the America 2000 schools, Xerox was one of the largest donors.

Reacting to criticism that the board of the N.A.S.D.C. was composed almost exclusively of C.E.O.s, an advisory panel was set up, and Saul Cooperman, a former New Jersey commissioner of education, was named chairman. Cooperman and the other advisory board members—whom he helped select—will evaluate and recommend grants for prototype schools. Cooperman is also founder and president of Edu-



ILLUSTRATIONS BY LISA BLACKSHEAR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cate America, Inc., a public policy organization that advocates national curriculum standards and national testing. Chester Finn is on the board of Educate America. So is Chris Whittle. In 1991 Cooperman became a member of the Whittle Educational Network advisory board. Cooperman denies any conflict of interest and pledged to recuse himself "if Whittle should submit a proposal" to the N.A.S.D.C.

A few years ago, Whittle planned to run for governor of Tennessee; he turned for advice to Tom Ingram, who was Alexander's chief of staff when he served as Governor. Under Ingram's guidance, Whittle took private tutorials at Harvard and Vanderbilt on arms control and welfare. He also had some sessions with Roger Ailes, who had coached Nixon and Bush. Whittle insists he has changed his mind and will not run for office; he believes that Channel One and the new schools are more important.

As Channel One started to absorb Whittle's attention, Ingram steered him through the treacherous shoals of state legislatures and school boards. To make certain that Channel One was accepted, Whittle Communications spent about $3.1 million on lobbying, Ingram said in an interview. Ingram is currently interim director of the new schools for Whittle and also executive vice president for corporate communications. When Alexander was nominated as Secretary of Education, Ingram advised him as well, helping to set up his transition office.

Another of Alexander's former chiefs of staff is Lewis Lavine, head of The Ingram Group, a business and political consulting company that Ingram founded. Whittle Communications is one of its largest clients. Lavine was hired by Alexander as a paid adviser for a number of months, until the Administration's new education proposals were announced last April. Both Ingram and Lavine deny any conflict of interest.

Alexander himself was on the Whittle advisory board that guided Channel One and worked for Whittle after leaving the governorship in 1987. His compensation was $125,000 in consulting fees plus the opportunity to buy four shares of Whittle stock, for which he wrote a $10,000 check, according to *The Wall Street Journal*. When he became president of the University of Tennessee a year later, Alexander transferred the stock to his wife after legal advisers suggested that if Whittle were to do business with the university, there would be a conflict of interest. At the end of 1988, Whittle bought back the stock for $330,000, giving the Alexanders a hefty profit—a matter that came up during Alexander's confirmation hearings.

After his nomination as Secretary of Education, Alexander asked Whittle, Ingram, Lavine, Cooperman and others for their advice. In a series of meetings, three of which Whittle attended, the proposals that became America 2000 were mapped out, along with a voucher system, according to one participant.

After his confirmation, Alexander sold his home in Knoxville, Tennessee, for $977,500. He had paid $570,000 for it about a year before. The buyer was Gerald Hogan, a top executive of Whittle Communications. Hogan received a mortgage of $780,000 from the First Tennessee Bank. Alexander was on the board of the bank's holding company until he became Secretary of Education. Whittle is still on the board.

During his confirmation hearings, Alexander promised to sever his ties with Whittle Communications. The pledge was a "personal recusal from official business that Whittle might have with the department," said Etta Fielek, director of public affairs for the department. Asked in an interview about the sale, Alexander said "the sale of the house doesn't fit in at all" and did not violate his promise. When Whittle was asked about the sale, he said in a telephone interview, "I had nothing to do with it." Questioned about a possible conflict of interest between his connections with Whittle and his position as head of the Education Department, Alexander responded, "Where is the conflict and where is the interest? Whittle has never done any work for the federal government and doesn't plan to." Whittle said that he has no intention of applying for federal funds, although he may apply for state and local funds. As for Alexander, Whittle added, "Ultimately we are trying to do the same things. He is taking the public route. I am taking the private route."

The Whittle-Alexander connection symbolizes the new alliance between business and government to exploit the educational system. Alexander attributes the greater business involvement in public-policy-making to the "different playing field" that developed in the 1980s as competition heated up from Japan, and Japanese firms in the United States demanded better-trained employees. "Corporate America is becoming involved because the public schools are not producing the type of student that business needs," said Arnold Fege, director of government relations for the national P.T.A. "Business wants the curriculum to include a strong business agenda."

Such an agenda, for the most part, could result in a corruption of values, under the guise of being "value free," with a strong emphasis on skills. Kohl, the educational theorist, suggests that questions of labor and worker solidarity would be ignored while the virtues of free enterprise and corporate loyalty would be extolled. "The way to achieve self-validation would be through the corporate structure," he adds. "Desire would be manipulated so that artificial needs could be maintained."

Finally, another reason business is turning to education is that it anticipates profits if the schools are rebuilt and use new learning technologies. Whittle sees nothing wrong in this: "Is there an inherent conflict between profits and education? No way. The biggest contribution business can make to education is to make education a business."

SUBSCRIBER SERVICES

MOVING?

Send both your old mailing label and your new address to:

THE NATION
P.O. Box 10763
Des Moines IA 50340-0763

Please allow 4-6 weeks for processing.

PROBLEMS?

If you have any problems or questions regarding your subscription, please write to us at the address to the left, or call:

1 (800) 333-8536
Monday to Friday
7:00 am to 7:00 pm CST
Saturday
8:00 am to 4:00 pm CST

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

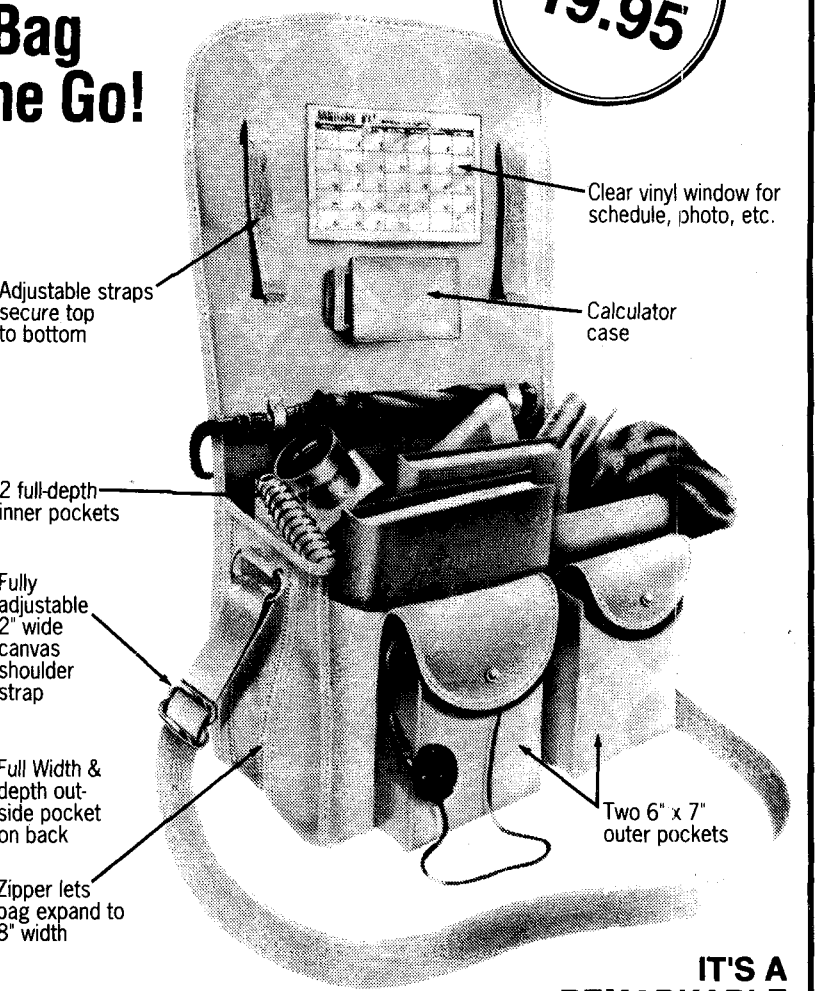
SCANDIA

The Shoulder Bag For People On The Go!

ONLY $19.95

IT HOLDS *EVERYTHING!*
The Scandia is intelligently designed to hold all the books, paper, equipment and clothes you could ever need to carry. There are even special pockets for all those little odds and ends that seem to get lost in ordinary bags. The sturdy canvas Scandia measures 14½" across, 11" deep, and 4" wide (the perfect size for an airplane carry-on), and has six inner and outer pockets. And for those times when you need a little extra space, just open the Scandia's inside zipper and the bag *expands to a full 8 inches in width!* No matter how much you pack into the Scandia, it will still be trim enough to carry comfortably.

IT'S EXTREMELY DURABLE.
As anyone who has ever owned a Scandia will testify, *this bag lasts for years.* The Scandia's high-quality canvas is water-resistant, color-fast, and scuff-proof. Its heavy duty zippers, piping, and snaps are well-made and extremely durable. And the Scandia will stay in style for years: its attractive, casual look goes well with a business suit as it does with jeans and a sweater. And with three handsome colors to choose from, you might want to own more than one!


Clear vinyl window for schedule, photo, etc.
Adjustable straps secure top to bottom
Calculator case
2 full-depth inner pockets
Fully adjustable 2" wide canvas shoulder strap
Full Width & depth outside pocket on back
Zipper lets bag expand to 8" width
Two 6" x 7" outer pockets

The Scandia's remarkable design makes it roomy enough to hold all your gear, yet trim enough to carry comfortably.

There's simply no other shoulder bag that's as lightweight, versatile, stylish, durable and affordable as the Scandia. If you've shopped around for high-quality shoulder bags, briefcases, and purses, you're probably aware that most of these items cost at least $50. But, because we've made a mass purchase of Scandia bags, we are able to sell them at a remarkably low price of only $19.95 each. Surely, that's a small price to pay for a big capacity, smart-looking bag that will last for years.

IT'S A REMARKABLE BARGAIN!
NOW ONLY $19.95

ORDER TOLL-FREE
1-800-242-6657
CALL ANYTIME, DAY OR NIGHT

Barnes & Noble Unconditional Guarantee
You must be completely satisfied with every item you order from Barnes & Noble by mail, or you may return it to us for a full refund

Barnes & Noble
Booksellers Since 1873

DEPARTMENT B306, 126 FIFTH AVE., NEW YORK, N.Y. 10011

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY/STATE/ZIP _____
Payment Method (check one)
☐ Check ☐ MasterCard ☐ Visa ☐ American Express
☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐
EXP. DATE ☐☐☐☐
Signature _____

ITEM #	STYLE	QTY	TOTAL	
#1700756	BLUE			
#1700749	BLACK			
#1700764	KHAKI			
	Merchandise Total			
	Add sales tax for deliveries to CT, MA, MI, MN, NJ, NY, PA, & CA			
	Add $2.50 per bag ordered for shipping & handling			
	ORDER TOTAL			

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Chris Whittle is an entrepreneur, not an educator. He is not opening new schools to improve children's minds but to make money.

His connections and financial resources give him an inside track to the schools of the future. The Whittle-Alexander-Time Warner corporate nexus will be a dominant force in shaping the schools of tomorrow. Unless parents, teachers and educators provide a strong alternative to the corporate invasion of education, in which Whittle is leading the charge, the nation's schools will be turned into another subsidiary of big business. □

LE MESSAGER AND THE MESSAGE

Africa's Press Of Freedom

RICHARD CARVER AND DAN SWANSON

When the Cameroonian editor Pius Njawe goes out into the streets of Douala to report a story he does not go out alone. Two bodyguards accompany him at all times. But he is not a fearful man. He is large and strongly built, and he speaks like one of the editorials in his newspaper, *Le Messager*—in firm, direct, perfectly composed French.

Although he is only 34, Njawe carries himself like a man who is much older. His commanding manner must partly be due to the position of responsibility he has chosen: For the past twelve years, despite censorship, jailings and the threat of violence, he has put out an independent newspaper in his West African one-party state. He has established *Le Messager* as one of the most prominent representatives of a new brand of independent newspapers and magazines that has been emerging in sub-Saharan Africa over the past couple of years.

The new journals are one of the most heartening developments in the continent in a long time. They are appearing as far west as Senegal, in Kenya in the east, and all the way down to Namibia and Zimbabwe. The independent newspapers are an important part of the increasing popular demands for democracy in what until quite recently were mainly repressive dictatorships. Most of these governments were accepted and supported by the West as long as they did not band together and try to raise the price of cocoa, copper and other raw materials they produce, or change sides in a cold war that ensnared them from afar.

The era of African political stagnation is over. Last October 31, Kenneth Kaunda, the President of Zambia for twenty-seven years, was trounced at the polls by trade union leader Frederick Chiluba. One factor in Chiluba's landslide victory was the independent *Weekly Post*, which in only five months of existence had climbed to a circulation of 50,000, in large part because of its exposés of government scandals.

Kaunda's defeat follows changes in other one-party states. In Benin, Mathieu Kérékou was forced to call a "national conference" that first reduced his powers and then made him accede to elections in which he was voted out of power. In Mali, Moussa Traoré resisted demands for such a convention, so he was overthrown in March; a caretaker government is preparing the country for elections. In Zaire, the West's longtime favorite, Mobutu Sese Seko, seems to be finally on his way out. And in perhaps the most significant move of all, Kenya's President, Daniel arap Moi, was forced in early December to announce he would allow a return to a multiparty system.

Many factors are prompting these political changes. Africa's foreign debt is higher per capita than almost anywhere else in the Third World, and continued low commodity prices, along with mismanagement and corruption, have caused ten years of economic stagnation. Africans were tuned in to their shortwave radios when the dictatorships fell in Eastern Europe, and they stopped regarding their own ossified single-party regimes as something eternal.

The new press has played an indispensable role in giving voice to the opposition. In Mali, there are sixteen new independent papers. Kenyan editor Gitobu Imanyara's *Nairobi Law Monthly* has a circulation of 15,000, proving that lawyers are not the only ones reading its sharp political analyses [see Aryeh Neier, "Watching Rights," August 13/20, 1990, and April 1, 1991]. As Benin's former president Kérékou whined after his downfall, "It's because of journalists that everything has turned out badly."

The independent editors and reporters are some of the most courageous and genuinely public-spirited people on the continent. They still face dangers of imprisonment or assassination; Imanyara was imprisoned and chained to his bed in the hospital wing of a Nairobi prison hospital for three weeks last July. There are also the traditional methods of controlling the press: bribery, or withdrawing government advertising and legal notices from papers that become too outspoken.

On a poor continent, there are other ways to block free expression that may be unfamiliar in the better-off parts of the world. For instance, few African nations manufacture their own newsprint, so governments can restrict the allocation of the scarce foreign exchange needed to import it. Also, there may be only one printing press in the country, controlled by the regime.

Pius Njawe's story is in many ways typical. During a visit to New York City recently to collect an award from the Committee to Protect Journalists, he recalled that he started off in journalism at the age of 16 as an office messenger. His first assignment as a cub reporter was the crime beat.

Early on Njawe encountered the pressures. In one episode, a tree fell on a lumberjack in the Souza Forest, about 100 kilometers from Douala. Six days later, the man died in the hospital. Njawe investigated. The company director tried to cover up the accident, first by threatening Njawe, who was then only 19, and then by offering him a briefcase full of C.F.A. francs to ignore the story. But, Njawe

Richard Carver is the author of Truth From Below: The Emergent Press in Africa, *an Article 19 censorship report. Dan Swanson, based in New York City, is the U.S. representative of Article 19, the international anticensorship organization.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

remembers, "I could not make a fortune on the dead body of a Cameroonian citizen."

Three years later, he started *Le Messager*. (He says he chose the name to honor his father, who had been a messenger for the German authorities during the early colonial period.) At first the paper appeared monthly, and it concentrated mainly on sports and entertainment—which is how many of the other independent papers on the continent started.

In 1982, the veteran ruler Ahmadou Ahidjo anointed a successor, Paul Biya, who promised reforms. *Le Messager* gave Biya critical support in those first years, especially when Ahidjo regretted his decision and tried to take power back. The paper continued to get more outspoken, but it still refrained from attacking Biya personally. Another Cameroonian editor commented, "The best way to get away with a criticism is to start an article by quoting Biya."

Njawe did not try to defy the censorship system directly. At first, he submitted *Le Messager* to the censors, allowing them the required four hours to look it over. Then he had an idea: Instead of handing in the mock-up of the paper, he would turn over the final printed version, all sixteen to twenty-four pages. Njawe was counting on the superbureaucratized nature of so many government offices in the Third World. He remembers with a laugh, "The first official would have to read the whole paper before passing it on to his chief; the chief would have to read it before passing it on to *his* chief. Before they could all read it, the four hours had passed, and we brought *Le Messager* out into the streets."

But the Biya regime ignored its own censorship laws and confiscated the newspapers anyway. Also, in July 1990 the government-owned printing company said that for "technical reasons"—shortage of newsprint and film—it had to reduce *Le Messager*'s press run from 80,000 to 15,000, even though the pro-government Cameroon *Tribune* was not affected.

For the past few years, *Le Messager* has not been mincing words. A column in the English-language edition of July 18, 1991, described Biya's government as "recalcitrant, hesitant, undecisive, terrorist, rebellious, hopeless, underachieving, corrupted, kleptocratic, clientelist, ethnofascist, paternalistic, mediocre, tribalistic . . ." By August, the Biya regime could stand it no longer. It suspended *Le Messager* and four other independent papers, and then used tear gas and clubs to break up a march protesting the bannings. Njawe tried to bring his newspaper out again under new names—*La Messagère* (the feminine form of the same word) and *Le Message*—but the government was adamant. Njawe was silenced and somewhat demoralized. He was disappointed that the Cameroonian people seemed to have accepted the bannings without putting up more of a struggle.

But his pessimism was premature. In December the Biya regime lifted its ban and Njawe returned to the fight. In a front-page editorial that rang with a zeal that would have been worthy of Zola, he informed the government that the five-month suspension had not cowed him: "*Non!*" he wrote. "*Le Messager* could not die so promptly! Neither the prisons that we have sometimes come to inhabit, nor the physical and moral tortures that we have often endured, nor the weapons that we have had to fight against, nor the assassination attempts and kidnappings that have become part of our daily lot, nor even the seductions of wealth that we have always resisted could taint our faith in our just combat to give birth to a society of liberty and justice."

Cameroon's days as a one-party state seem numbered. Across Africa, newspapers like *Le Messager* are one reason to hope that the new governments that are emerging in nation after nation will not degenerate as their predecessors did. After all, Zambia's Kaunda was once a decent, moderately progressive leader who enjoyed genuine support in his country—before the arrogance of ruling without any real opposition went to his head.

The new press is part of the expansion of independent organizations that have appeared across the continent. The new bodies include trade unions, professional organizations, cultural associations, even indigenous human rights groups like the influential Civil Liberties Organization of Nigeria, founded by two young lawyers in 1987. These new groups are sometimes described as signs of the emergence of "civil society." The term is a little dull, with the mustiness of a sociology trea-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tise. But the reality is an exciting sense of vibrant optimism, embodied in real democratic organizations that are Africa's best new hope. □

STATE MURDER ON TRIAL

Judgment Day on The Attica Case

BRUCE JACKSON

On January 9, after hearing nearly three months of testimony, a federal court jury in Buffalo began deliberating in the last Attica trial, *Al-Jundi v. Oswald et al.* The plaintiffs in this class-action civil rights suit are the 1,281 prisoners who were in Attica Correctional Facility's D-yard the morning of Monday, September 13, 1971. They had rebelled, taken hostages and occupied D-yard four days earlier. On Sunday, after two days of extensive negotiations between prisoners and Russell Oswald, Commissioner of Corrections for New York State, Governor Nelson Rockefeller ordered that the prison be retaken by force by state troopers. Representative Herman Badillo, certain that further negotiation would lead to a peaceful settlement, told Rockefeller that bulletins about casualties broadcast during the afternoon's football games would be bad politics, so Rockefeller, who still had presidential ambitions, agreed to a brief delay.

The assault, planned and led by State Police Maj. John Monahan, began at 9:46 the following morning. A National Guard helicopter dumped a huge quantity of tear gas over the prison yards, catwalks and cellblocks. As prisoners and hostages stumbled blindly or fell to the ground, state troopers and corrections officers opened fire with shotguns, pistols and .270-caliber rifles loaded with exploding bullets. There was no resistance to the retaking force.

Twenty-nine prisoners and ten hostages were shot to death in the assault; scores of others were seriously wounded. Within the next twenty-four hours, many more prisoners were injured by guards and troopers wielding clubs, chains, screwdrivers and other weapons. Several men bled to death because prison officials kept them away from medical personnel. All troopers and corrections officers in the assault were white; most prisoners in D-yard were black or Hispanic.

The defendants in *Al-Jundi v. Oswald* are Vincent Mancusi, superintendent of Attica at the time of the uprising; Karl Pfeil, his deputy; and the estates of Monahan and Oswald. Other defendants negotiated their way out of the lawsuit or were dropped because the prisoners had no lawyers. Rockefeller was exempted from liability by Federal Judge John Elfvin on the ground of qualified immunity. Oswald's deputy, Walter Dunbar, who circulated the false story that prisoners had killed and castrated hostages, then stuffed their testicles and penises in their mouths, was released from the case because prisoners couldn't serve his estate in time.

Judge Elfvin's charge to the jury was far more restrictive than required by federal law. He ruled that it wasn't enough for the plaintiffs to prove that the retaking of Attica prison was a needless massacre, or that prisoners were denied adequate medical attention or that extensive brutality occurred long after the prison had been recaptured. Neither was it enough for them to prove that any or all of the four defendants had been incompetent, irresponsible or negligent in the execution of their duties that bloody Monday. Elfvin told the jury the plaintiffs had to prove that the defendants acted "sadistically" and with "wanton and deliberate indifference" to the harm their actions or abdications from involvement would cause. (After Elfvin refused to permit the jury to see the goriest photographs of wounded and slain prisoners and hostages, saying they might inflame passions and the jury had to be dispassionate, one attorney asked, "How is the jury supposed to find sadism when he won't let them look at the pictures showing it?")

The judge was about to get weirder. A few days after jury deliberations began, Elfvin went to Barbados for a monthlong vacation. He left a magistrate in charge of his courtroom and said he'd be available to answer questions by telephone once a day. Within a week the chief judge of the circuit issued a press statement saying he'd told Elfvin to get back on the job and take his vacation when the trial was over. While waiting at an airport, Elfvin telephoned the jury with a new order: Instead of quitting at 4:30 P.M. they would now work to 10 P.M. daily, and they would also have to work Saturdays. The jury rebelled. On January 23, they handed Elfvin an eloquent three-page letter detailing the sacrifices that jury duty had occasioned for the past three months, the burden that increased hours would impose and the seriousness with which they took the case. Several times during the day attorneys asked for a clarification of the schedule; Elfvin finally announced that the jury would work that night until 10 P.M. After that, they would begin daily at 8 A.M. and work until 6 P.M. The jury said no; they refused to rush to judgment. Elfvin gave up and things were back where they had been—save for the squandered time and the anger and ill feelings.

The plaintiffs are asking for money damages, but their primary goal is to get their side of the story told in this last available legal forum, and to get the state to accept responsibility for what happened. The plaintiffs' attorneys, some of whom have been involved with the case for seventeen years, are all volunteers; they have no money for salaries, office expenses, transcripts or support staff. The former officials' attorneys received more than $1.3 million from the state before this trial began; in addition to their regular fees, they receive free office space, investigators and transcripts. Should the four officials be found liable for what happened in the retaking of Attica, they or their estates will almost certainly be indemnified by New York State.

Something awful happened at Attica. In addition to those

Bruce Jackson is Distinguished Professor and Director of the Center for Studies in American Culture at State University of New York in Buffalo. He is working on a book about the justice system and the 1971 Attica uprising.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FREE T-SHIRT

Get it off your chest! This red, white, and blue commentary (Sit, Stay, Fetch, Heel, Roll over, Play dead, Kill.) on the 'New World Order' by artist Patrick JB Flynn is yours free when you subscribe to The Progressive magazine—America's leading voice for peace and social justice.

Just send $19.97—that's 45 per cent off the newsstand price—and you'll enjoy Erwin Knoll's courageous editorials, June Jordan's passionate essays, and Molly Ivins's incomparable humor. Plus the FREE 'New World Orders' T-shirt!

Yes, send me my FREE 'New World Orders' T-shirt, along with my subscription to The Progressive.

Please indicate size: ☐ large ☐ x-large.

Name (please print) _____

Address, Apt. _____

City, State, Zip _____

☐ **My payment is enclosed.** ☐ **Charge my** ☐ MasterCard ☐ Visa.

Credit Card Acct. No. _____ Exp. Date _____

Cardholder's Signature _____

If you'd like additional T-shirts, please indicate size and send $10 per shirt.
Complete this form and mail it to:

the Progressive 409 EAST MAIN STREET, MADISON, WISCONSIN 53703

A5NNSS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

unnecessarily killed, wounded or mutilated, torture occurred in a public institution, and no ranking public official in the state police or prison system made a move to stop or even lessen it or to take responsibility for it after it was over. All four defendants and their subordinates are agents of the state; all of the prisoners killed, injured or tortured were wards of the state; all of the slain and injured hostages were employees of the state.

The lawsuit seeks redress for unspeakable violence in a public institution, violence authorized and beclouded by agents of government. For twenty years New York State has tried to close the door on what happened. The plaintiffs in *Al-Jundi v. Oswald* are insisting that the door be forced open, that the rest of us finally be permitted to see what really happened at Attica and that there be accountability for those monstrous events.

Attica has two lessons for us. The first was immediate: No governor or prison administrator since Rockefeller and Oswald has used gunfire to quell a prison disturbance; the common wisdom now is that negotiation is always preferable to death. The second lesson depends on the jury deliberating in Buffalo. If it decides for the plaintiffs it will be asserting that even against enormous odds ordinary citizens can, once in a great while, hold public officials accountable for the harm they do. Public officials should know that. □

A PROMISE REDEEMED

One Man's Bill Of Rights

ROGER WILKINS

During the course of a recent talk at the Columbia Graduate School of Journalism to help celebrate the 200th anniversary of the Bill of Rights, I recounted my most conscious use of the First Amendment. This occurred during the protests a few years ago against the Reagan Administration's warm embrace of South Africa's apartheid regime. I recalled:

> At first when people driving home to the suburbs along Massachusetts Avenue would stare quizzically at me and my colleagues as we demonstrated in front of the South African Embassy, I felt quite self-conscious.
>
> But I realized that there was nothing odd about a group of citizens exercising their First Amendment rights and that if anybody should have felt weird, it should have been those confused inside-the-Beltway denizens who, of all people, should have understood democracy when they saw it.
>
> Besides, we were engaged in a fundamentally decent enterprise. We were doing politics on behalf of people who, had they tried the same thing for themselves at that time in Johannesburg, would surely have been jailed or killed.

There is a rich irony in the idea of a descendant of Virginia slaves using the First Amendment as psychic armor against the intrusive stares of his white fellow-countrymen. The Bill of Rights was invented in Virginia and so was North American slavery.

Virginia was the first place in America where the principles embodied in both the Bill of Rights and the Declaration of Independence were reduced to writing. The Bill of Rights in our Constitution is modeled on the Virginia Declaration of Rights. The first principle of the Declaration has a very familiar ring:

> 1. That all men are by nature equally free and independent, and have certain inherited rights, of which, when they enter into a state of society, they cannot by any compact deprive or divest their posterity; namely the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property, pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety.

George Mason was the principal author of the Declaration of Rights and the loudest champion of the inclusion of such provisions in the federal Constitution. James Madison, who has been called the Father of the Constitution, got the Bill of Rights adopted after he had been prodded to do so by Mason, by Virginia political sentiment and by Thomas Jefferson, the principal author of the Declaration of Independence. In addition to their patriotism, their large vision and their great abilities, these Virginians shared what might today be called a life style. That is, they were men for whom "possessing property" was a natural and an inherited right. And a substantial portion of the property that each owned was slaves.

The underside of the First Amendment, and the rest of the Bill of Rights, for that matter, was that their guarantees were denied in their entirety to the people who farmed, cooked and cared for, and generally enriched the Founders. Black slaves were forbidden to congregate, to protest, to organize or otherwise to do politics. Had they tried, under the slave codes then in force in Virginia, they risked being maimed or killed.

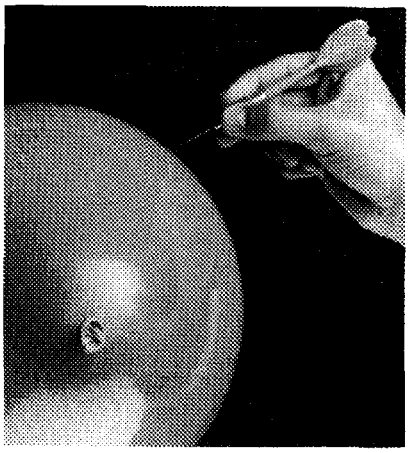
According to Judge A. Leon Higginbotham Jr. in his splendid book *In the Matter of Color—Race & the American Legal Process: The Colonial Period*, the Virginia Court of Appeals was quite blunt about the application of the Declaration of Rights to blacks. In *Hudgins v. Wright* (1806), the court considered whether the first principle applied to slaves. Judge St. George Tucker was unequivocal. After saying that the Declaration had been framed "with a cautious eye," he went on to say that it "was meant to embrace the case of free citizens, or aliens only; and not be a side wind to overturn the rights of property, and give freedom to those very people whom we have been compelled from imperious circumstances to retain, generally, in the same state of bondage that they were in at the revolution, in which they had no concern, agency, or interest."

But of course there were no Americans with a greater interest in the seeds of freedom that had been planted in the late eighteenth century than those who had no freedom. Over the next twenty decades the struggles of blacks and their allies did much to nurture those rights and drive them more firmly into the American soil. The sweeping egalitarian sentiments of the Declaration of Independence, for example, were written into the Constitution by the Civil War amendments, which were intended to give content to the new liberty of the former

Roger Wilkins, a professor of history at George Mason University, is a fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Why the most skeptical people in America subscribe to The Nation.



Our editorial philosophy.

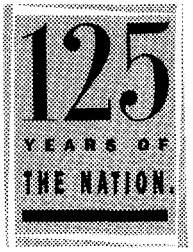
The Nation is the oldest weekly magazine in America. We even predate sliced bread.

Yet, despite our advanced age, we have never settled for mere respectability.

Indeed, the longer we're around, the more we pride ourselves on disturbing the status quo.

A paradox?

Not to thousands of our readers still able to declare they are "radical," let alone liberal.



Our history.

They prize the challenge we present forty-seven times a year.

The challenge to their assumptions. Their sense of what the news portends. And the disinformation that too often masquerades as news.

We always do our very best to keep all our readers freshly provoked.

With regular contributions from such iconoclasts as Alexander Cockburn, Katha Pollitt, Christopher Hitchens, Molly Ivins, Gore Vidal, Calvin Trillin, and drawings from the likes of Edward Sorel (well, nobody else is like Mr. Sorel).

Our taste in art.

Why do the most skeptical people in America subscribe to The Nation?

Because they ask the toughest questions and demand the liveliest answers.

Prove it:

Subscribe for yourself.

Our offer (for new subscribers only): Save 57% off the single-copy price . . . and 18% off our basic rate . . . when you subscribe to 24 issues of The Nation—one-half year—for just $18.

[ ] My payment is enclosed. [ ] Bill me later.

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP

Please mail to: PO Box 10791, Des Moines, IA 50340-0791

The Nation.

Unconventional wisdom since 1865.

H2B311

Produced by Public Media Center

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

slaves. And the protections of the Bill of Rights were broadened to shield citizens from intrusions by state governments as a result of interpretations of one of those amendments, the Fourteenth.

I had rarely felt my Americanness more deeply than I did that evening as I talked about the First Amendment in that context. Standing there in the World Room in the Journalism Building on the Columbia campus—a room in which, during another career, I had presided over the deliberations of the Pulitzer Prize board—I wondered what my eighteenth-century Virginia ancestors would have thought had they been able to observe the celebratory proceedings. And for that matter, I wondered what the Founders might have thought if they could now see that not only is the superstructure of their freedom work still being celebrated but a partial cleaning job has been done on the underside as well. One would hope that after getting over their initial shock, they would be deeply pleased. □

Workers United

(*Continued From Front Cover*)

tributions to local charities and annual Memorial Day visits to the grave site in southern West Virginia of a dog she'd owned for years.

Sitting in a chain restaurant off Interstate 77, Totten marvels at the anger that now consumes her and at her profound hatred of R. Emmett Boyle, the chief executive officer of R.A.C.; the scabs; and the man she and union investigators believe is the power behind the company and the root of all the misery, Marc Rich, one of the globe's largest commodities dealers (estimates of his net worth range from $800 million to $2 billion), who is holed up in Zug, Switzerland, a fugitive from the American judicial system. "I never dreamed that I'd be in a Shoney's worrying about someone like that," Totten remarks, shaking her head. "And I bet he never dreamed that he would have to worry about people like me."

People like Betty Totten have turned the lockout at Ravenswood into organized labor's most important cause of the moment. Few, if any, R.A.C. workers expected to be part of labor's avant-garde, but R.A.C.'s decision to hire permanent replacement workers brought attention to a labor-fueled move on Capitol Hill to pass legislation to prohibit this practice. After all, union advocates argue, what good is a right to strike if a company can just dump another person into your job? The Ravenswood dispute has become a critical test for labor, a chance to improve on its disappointing recent track record and to show it is not a toothless dinosaur. The A.F.L.-C.I.O., the U.S.W.A. and locals across the country have poured in support—much of it in cash—to Local 5668. In tight economic times labor, and corporate America as well, are anxiously watching to see if R.A.C. can get away with busting a union. On top of all this, the ghostly presence of Marc Rich is a reminder of how finance knows no borders. To win in Ravenswood, the unionists might have to win in Zug.

The workers' problems probably started in 1988. A faltering, debt-heavy Kaiser Aluminum, which owned the Ravenswood factory, was acquired in a leveraged buyout by Maxxam, a firm led by wheeling-dealing entrepreneurs. A year later, Maxxam, needing to reduce debt, sold the Ravenswood facility to a group (which union analysts suspect is controlled by Rich) that would rename it the Ravenswood Aluminum Corporation. The new management peeved some workers. They were ordered to attend labor seminars at which newcomers lectured thirty-year veterans, insisting they had to be as loyal to their company as Japanese workers are to theirs. But company newsletters boasted of record-setting production, and workers claim they were told the plant was turning a fine profit. A major worry for the unionists was the company's declining safety record. By the local's count, there were five union fatalities at the plant in the eighteen months that followed the buyout, compared with one in the previous eighteen years.

Contract negotiations in the fall of 1990 were not pleasant. The company's representatives seemed aloof to the union, and the two sides remained far apart on the key issues, including compensation. Union negotiators surmised that R.A.C., burdened by the debt resulting from the most recent buyout, was trying to shore up its finances by cutting labor costs. (R.A.C.'s spokesperson ignored requests for an interview for this article.)

Now the union charges that the talks were a charade. Before the bargaining began there were numerous signs that management neither anticipated nor desired a settlement. A new fence was installed around company property. Video surveillance cameras were installed. The company stockpiled material. It brought in refrigerated boxcars loaded with food, a trailer with televisions and video games. A new security guard service was hired. All these moves suggest preparations for a clash that would force management and scabs to spend long stretches in the facility. But since there was no history of strikes or lockouts at the plant, none of Local 5668's members thought these developments indicated trouble. The workers felt secure. "We were so stupid," Totten says.

The company did not bargain in good faith, according to an initial finding of the National Labor Relations Board, which declared the lockout illegal and called for restoring the union jobs. (The N.L.R.B. complaint is now before an administrative law judge, and will no doubt become the subject of a federal lawsuit. If upheld, it could eventually lead to the payment of back wages.) The steelworkers believe that R.A.C. hoped the union would strike. But the union refrained. The company then locked out the workers, probably expecting the union to fold soon. The local had not been particularly fierce in the past. About one-third of the 1,700 hourly employees were eligible for a small pension. If a few hundred unionists broke ranks and joined the scabs and a few hundred retired, the company might have been able to bury the local. But the union held firm. It claims that of the 1,700 people locked out, only seventeen have returned to work.

The unity may be attributed to the fact that the average age of the workers is over 50; a majority have put in more than twenty years of service. Many of the veterans took the lockout as a personal affront—especially when the company bad-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE THIRD ANNUAL NATION/I.F. STONE AWARD FOR STUDENT JOURNALISM

ENTRY DEADLINE: JUNE 29, 1992

PURPOSE: The Nation Institute/I.F. Stone Award recognizes excellence in student journalism. Entries should exhibit the uniquely independent journalistic tradition of I.F. Stone. A self-described "Jeffersonian Marxist," Stone combined progressive politics, investigative zeal and a compulsion to tell the truth with a commitment to human rights and the exposure of injustice. As Washington editor of *The Nation* magazine and founder of the legendary *I.F. Stone's Weekly*, he specialized in publishing information ignored by the mainstream media (which he often found in *The Congressional Record* and other public documents overlooked by the big-circulation dailies).

ELIGIBILITY: The contest is open to all undergraduate students enrolled in a U.S. college. Articles may be submitted by the writers themselves or nominated by editors of student publications or faculty members. While entries originally published in student publications are preferred, all articles will be considered provided they were not written as part of a student's regular course work.

THE PRIZE: The article that, in the opinion of the judges, represents the most outstanding example of student journalism in the tradition of I.F. Stone will be published in a fall issue of *The Nation*. The winner will receive a cash award of $500. *The Nation* reserves the right to edit the winning article to conform to the space limitations of the magazine. Announcement of the winning article will be made in *The Nation* in the fall of 1992.

DEADLINE: All entries must be postmarked by June 29, 1992.

ENTRY RULES:

All entries must have been written or published between September 1, 1991, and June 29, 1992. Tear sheets or photocopies are acceptable.

Each writer, editor of a student publication or faculty member may submit up to three separate entries. A series of related articles will be considered as a single entry. Investigative articles are particularly encouraged. There are no restrictions as to scope, content or length.

Accompanying material in support of entries is not required, but entrants are encouraged to submit a cover letter explaining the context of the submitted story, along with a brief biographical note about the author. Elaborate presentations are neither required nor desired. Entries will not be returned.

Judges reserve the right to authenticate, accept or disallow entries at their discretion. The decision of the judges is final.

All entries must include the writer's school, home address and telephone number.

ALL ENTRIES SHOULD BE SENT TO:
NATION/STONE AWARD, C/O THE NATION INSTITUTE, 72 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, NY 10011

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION, PLEASE CALL (212) 463-9270.

A PROJECT OF THE NATION INSTITUTE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mouthed their job performance. The fight to return became a matter of pride. There is also a pragmatic motive: Older workers generally have a tougher time finding new jobs. Resentment is high. Many employees who are eligible for retirement say they want to win just so they can put in one more day at the plant. A legacy of union resistance inspires the men and women of R.A.C. "We're old enough to remember the mine wars our parents talked about," explains Charlie McDowell, the 57-year-old chairman of the local's grievance committee, who grew up near Matewan and started working at Ravenswood in 1958. "When it comes your time, that's your heritage, your way of life. For someone to come in here and think they can take away everything without a fight—well, that's just stupid."

The plant, nearly a mile long, is under siege. Inside a barbed-wire fence, truck trailers full of hay form a makeshift barricade. Large rusting steel plates are hung on some of the electrical equipment near the front of the plant. Until recently, many of the windows were covered with plywood. Ravenswood (population 4,189) sits a mile or two away, nestled between the snaking Ohio River and a line of wooded hills. It has one stoplight, one shopping plaza, no movie theater and about thirty churches. George Washington slept here, and a one-room museum, open at intermittent hours above the senior-citizen center, offers a tribute to his stay. The town once served as a port for river traffic, but mostly it was a small commercial outpost in the midst of farm country. Then the aluminum plant came in the late 1950s. Thousands of people from West Virginia, Virginia, Pennsylvania, Ohio and elsewhere trekked to Ravenswood in search of a job. Shortly after the pot rooms fired up, the facility was unionized.

For three decades, the plant and its workers helped build the local community. Kaiser donated land for an airport. It constructed a school and sold it to the town for one dollar. The employees contributed money to build the local hospital. There was, many of them believed, an unspoken social compact: company, workers, town.

Now Ravenswood is sharply divided. On roads, the word "SCAB" is painted, with large white arrows pointing toward the homes of replacement workers. Most of the new employees are from outside the area, but there are enough local scabs to keep the graffitists busy. A barn roof is covered with a motto seen on many signs posted throughout the area: "SCABS SUCK." Friendships have been destroyed. Locked-out workers note that the salaried employees with whom they worked and socialized for years turn tail when they see them coming. On a family farm next to the plant, two brothers, who live in separate houses, no longer speak to each other. Both worked at the plant before the lockout. One stayed out with the union; the other went back. "He's as good as dead to us," the wife of the union loyalist says of the scab brother. Most local politicians and many of the unionists' neighbors have been silent—perhaps a result of the resentment some residents long felt toward the plant's workers, the best-paid folks in town. Churches are split. One Sunday morning, when a scab in one church approached the altar, locked-out workers and their families stormed out of the pews and left the building.

The union jabs the company whenever it can.

The dispute, reminiscent of the Pittston coal strike in Virginia [see Denise Giardina, "Solidarity in Appalachia," July 3, 1989], has had its violence. A company guard lost an eye when a bullet was shot through his car and scattered splinters. One locked-out worker took a baseball bat to a car being driven by a scab. Union members have hurled Christmas ornaments full of paint at scab cars. Jackrocks—four-pronged metal spikes—have been scattered on the roads. Local gas-station attendants quickly figured out which types were deployed by unionists, which by company loyalists. In the union assistance office set up in an old shoe store, miniature jackrock earrings and Christmas ornaments are for sale. The assistance center,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

one wall of which is covered by a gigantic American flag, sells T-shirts that bear a picture of a handgun and the words "Scab Hunter." Many who come in to pick up food vouchers and groceries are dressed in camouflage.

With time, the conflict has settled down. But that's because the more radical unionists have been persuaded to go easy for a while. Driving past the plant on a cold night, Totten nods at a handful of picketers huddled around a barrel alive with flames and whispers, "Many of the guys say if they don't get their jobs back, no one will work at R.A.C. And they mean it."

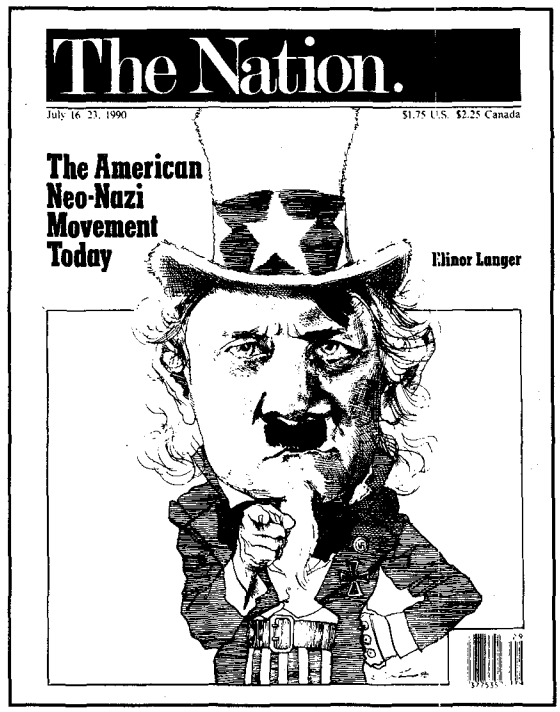
Local 5668 is waging an extensive campaign. Its members staff picket sites outside the plant all day and night. They monitor the truck traffic in and out, part of their effort to "follow the metal" and determine (and then pressure) the companies that supply R.A.C. and buy from it. Locked-out workers have, on a moment's notice, jumped into a pickup and followed a tractor-trailer as far as Texas. Across the river in a wooded area, they run an observation site, a cabin from which they spy on the barges that haul ore to the plant. There they listen to radio scanners that cover the frequencies used within the factory. One recent evening, four beefy men sat in the cabin—pockmarked by a dozen or so bullet holes left by an anonymous shooter or shooters who sprayed the shack one night when it was vacant—and spotted red smoke coming out of one of the stacks. During their three decades in the plant, none had ever seen such a sight. They didn't know what it meant, but noted it in their logbook just the same.

The union jabs the company whenever it can. The local filed a complaint with the Occupational Safety and Health Administration about working conditions within the plant. In December OSHA fined the company $604,500 for numerous violations. The U.S.W.A. has pressed Ford, Anheuser-Busch, G.M., Northrop and others to boycott R.A.C.-made aluminum. Stroh Brewery is so far the only company that has promised to eschew R.A.C. products. The union sent a letter to all the homes that share a ZIP code with the Connecticut residence of Charles Bradley, one of the R.A.C. owners, and informed his neighbors of the "horrendous" consequences in Ravenswood of Bradley's actions. They passed out leaflets assailing the company at a convention in Canada at which C.E.O. Boyle was a speaker. Recently the workers staged rallies in Ravenswood and nearby towns. At Ripley, the county seat, several hundred of the locked-out and their spouses and children trooped through town. Many of the men wore blaze-orange hunting clothing. "ONLY COWARDS REMAIN NEUTRAL," one sign read. They paraded past the county courthouse and a newly built war memorial for veterans of Grenada, Panama and Desert Storm. The march lasted only ten minutes; Ripley is small. So someone shouted, "Let's go back to the courthouse." Once they assembled there, across the street from the Rapture House Bible bookstore, the demonstrators sang their own versions of Christmas carols. At the end of "I'm Dreaming of a Fair Contract," the locked-out vowed to push on "till we bring Marc Rich to his knees." Two hundred forty miles away, in a union office in Washington, D.C., three men were trying to figure out how to do just that. □

The second part of this article will appear next week.

—BULK ORDERS—

THE AMERICAN NEO-NAZI MOVEMENT TODAY



Does David Duke scare you? He's not alone. In *The Nation* special issue "The American Neo-Nazi Movement Today," published in the summer of 1990, Elinor Langer examines the alarming growth of white, neofascist groups in the 1980s and '90s. Langer's investigation of Duke, WAR's Tom Metzger and others illustrates the hatemongers' rising power and growing sense of common purpose. Most alarmingly, Langer explains that although they are ostensibly an extremist minority, these groups embody sentiments commonly expressed by everyday Americans. Duke's presidential run is more than a showdown with George Bush—arm yourself with the facts about his true agenda. Educators shouldn't miss the chance to order multiple copies of this special issue at our bulk rate.

1 - 9 copies	$4.00 each
10 - 49 copies	$2.50 each
50 - 99 copies	$1.50 each
100 - 249 copies	$1.25 each
250 or more copies	$1.00 each

Prepayment is required (price includes postage).

ORDER FORM

Send me _____ copies of The Nation Special Issue **The American Neo-Nazi Movement Today**. I enclose $_____ payment in full.*

NAME (Please print)

ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP

PHONE

* Mail check or money order to Nation Bulk Sales, Box N N, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. (U.S. currency only. N.Y. State residents please add appropriate sales tax.) All sales final.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS & THE ARTS.

Stalin's Grandchildren

DANIEL SINGER

"At the burial of communism too many people want to jump from the coffin into the funeral procession." The Polish author of these lines tried to convey the idea that the former practitioners now seem oblivious of their past performance. His image, however, does not go far enough, since they come to the funeral not to mourn but to curse. The more accurate metaphor would be that they try to jump from the defense table to the prosecutor's seat because, conveniently forgetting their own neo-Stalinist past, they lump everything together and damn Marx, communism and quite often socialism as dangerously utopian. Nor is it quite surprising. Restoration is a time for turncoats and for epidemics of amnesia.

Brushing up one's memory may be a subconscious act. This came to mind when reading the proud assertion by the former Soviet Foreign Secretary that "since childhood I have never allowed any encroachments upon my own notions of duty." In that case, the notions must have been quite flexible. The silver-haired, smooth and suave Eduard Shevardnadze, co-architect of "new thinking" in Soviet foreign policy, may have become the darling of Western chanceries (I almost wrote Ed, since he refers to James Baker as Jim), but the man was not born in 1985. By then he was party boss, i.e., supreme master, in Georgia, a post he reached through the Komsomol, the K.G.B. and the Ministry of the Interior, hardly a journey for a tender democrat. He does not deny the itinerary, only somehow misses its significance. A Georgian, Shevardnadze is a southerner, and one should possibly apply to him Alphonse Daudet's definition of the French variety: "They don't lie; they believe in what they say."

The origins of the main reformers and the resulting ambiguity may indeed have contributed to the difficulties of this "revolution from above." Four of the books under review are by key actors in the *perestroika*. In addition to the writings of Mikhail Gorbachev himself and of his master diplomat, there is a book by Aleksandr Yakovlev, for years the chief ideologist; and another by Anatoly Sobchak, the Mayor of Leningrad, rechristened St. Petersburg, and one of the stars of the rising generation. (He is the moderate legal spokesman, whereas the Mayor of Moscow, Gavril Popov, is the more adventurous economic messenger of the acquisitive *priviligentsia*.) Considering the prestige of the authors, the books are a disappointment. And not only because it is now impossible to publish fast enough to keep pace with the acceleration of history in Eastern Europe: Shevardnadze and Sobchak have managed to tag on a postscript on the *putsch*; Gorbachev spends a great deal of his limited space arguing in favor of a Union of Sovereign States, a plea that by now has only a historical meaning.

IN THIS REVIEW

THE AUGUST COUP: The Truth and the Lessons. *By Mikhail Gorbachev. HarperCollins. 127 pp. $18.*

THE FUTURE BELONGS TO FREEDOM. *By Eduard Shevardnadze. Free Press. 237 pp. $22.95.*

FOR A NEW RUSSIA. *By Anatoly Sobchak. Free Press. 191 pp. $22.95.*

CE QUE NOUS VOULONS FAIRE DE L'UNION SOVIÉTIQUE. *By Aleksandr Iakovlev. Seuil. 157 pp. 79 francs.*

BORIS YELTSIN: From Bolshevik to Democrat. *By John Morrison. Dutton. 303 pp. $20.*

REBUILDING RUSSIA. *By Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn. Farrar, Straus & Giroux. 119 pp. $14.95.*

The feeling of dissatisfaction is also due to the fact that these are obviously potboilers. If two—Sobchak's and Yakovlev's—were produced with the aid of journalists, parts of the other two give the impression of having been written with the help of a staff, as one says of a painting that it is the work of the school of such-and-such master. Indeed, if one puts aside Solzhenitsyn's pamphlet, clearly a case apart, the only normal book—though also a rush job—is John Morrison's on Boris Yeltsin.

This is not really a biography of Russia's present leader; for the personal story one must still go back to Yeltsin's own, ghostwritten *Against the Grain* [see Singer, "Too Good to Be True," May 7, 1990] It is the story of the struggle with Gorbachev, a chronicle of the last few years, with emphasis on the political rather than the social and economic. Clearly written, fairly well documented, the book, while obviously biased, is not worshiping: The author, for instance, has to admit his hero's authoritarian streak. Its chief limitations are those of all mainstream writing on Eastern Europe, and they are well illustrated by the subtitle—*From Bolshevik to Democrat*. Yeltsin was as much a Bolshevik as I am a Chinese dancer. It simply means that, with all pretense of distinctions dropped, Stalinists, Leninists, Marxists are now lumped together as dreadful reds and Bolshevik is a term of insult. The corollary is that capitalism equals democracy—as has been proved from Chile to South Africa—and Yeltsin, moving faster toward capitalism than Gorbachev, is a better democrat. Hence the author's preference (and, presumably, the reason for the exasperating repeated description of Yeltsin as a "born rebel" when his record up to 1985 shows him plainly as an obedient, and occasionally sycophantic, bully).

For all their individual weaknesses, these books collectively teach us something, and not only about separate aspects of Soviet life—Shevardnadze on diplomacy, Sobchak on parliamentary procedures and investigations. Taken together, they tell us a great deal about the momentous and unfinished transition, its protagonists and the reasons why it was driven in the capitalist direction. None of the men involved were born yesterday. Gorbachev and Yeltsin, almost twins in age, are just 61. Shevardnadze is three years older and Yakovlev seven. Even Sobchak the newcomer, at 55, is not entirely green. He cannot be seriously described as a former dissident, since open critics did not hold professorships at Leningrad University. But he can claim that he was an outsider, whereas all the others were princes of the former regime.

The main actors of the *perestroika* are often described as the children of the Twentieth Party Congress, the 1956 meet-

Daniel Singer is The Nation*'s Europe correspondent.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing at which Nikita Khrushchev delivered his indictment of Stalin. In terms of age, it fits. Our men may have entered political life under Stalin, but they were awakened by the thaw during Khrushchev's reign. Yet they also prospered under Brezhnev and after. The only one whose career was temporarily diverted was Yakovlev—but whatever one may think of Ottawa's climate or provincialism, ten years as Ambassador to Canada is hardly deportation to Siberia. As to Gorbachev, Yeltsin and Shevardnadze, they climbed to the very top of the party's regional ladder, becoming proconsuls, respectively, of Stavropol, Sverdlovsk and Georgia. *Perestroika* was not the work of rebels. The transformation of the neo-Stalinist system was carried out by its main beneficiaries, who were conscious of the fact that it was doomed. Judging by conversations between Gorbachev and Shevardnadze as Communist Youth leaders, the seeds of doubt were sown long ago.

This does not mean that they set out in 1985 with the clear intention of taking their country on the road to capitalism. Very far from it. Why then the tremendous discrepancy between the original intention and the actual journey? One reason is that these men were the main beneficiaries of the system. They could envisage a transfer of power from one group of privileged to another, say, from apparatchiks to managers. They could even see the need for a dose of democracy to save the regime. They were in no position to mount an attack against all privileges. They were unable to turn a radical reform from above into revolutionary change from below. The second reason is that, even if they had intended to do so, they would not have known in which direction to move.

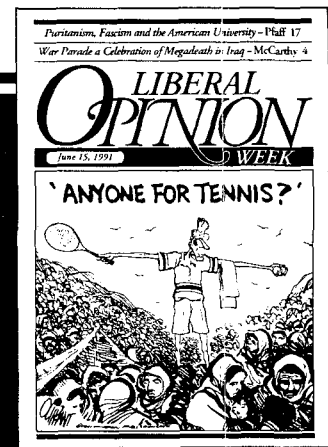
If Gorbachev and his fellows were children of Khrushchev, they were also grandchildren of Stalin, who had reduced Marxism to a theological book of useful quotations. The fundamental questions of socialism—about the social division of labor, the unwithering state, the capacity of people to gain mastery over their work and their lives—were totally alien to them. Or, to be more accurate, as one reads these books one becomes convinced that for them Marxism was a sort of liturgical Latin, spoken on special occasions in their Sunday best, and unconnected with real life. Thus, when they found the courage to admit that their society was in no way socialist, they were empty and, dazzled by Western wealth, ripe for conversion.

(For outsiders like Sobchak, Marxism is not Latin but Greek. Otherwise quite a rational writer, when it comes to his *Weltanschauung*, he manages to pack into a few pages an extraordinary amount of contradictory nonsense. Thus, he says that Stalin could not be called a Marxist, yet in the same chapter blames Marx and Nietzsche for the gulag and Nazism. The hodgepodge in the minds of the Russian intelligentsia is one of the grim heritages of Stalinism.)

If the trend of this revolution from above was, possibly, inevitable, in dealing with individual leaders one must take into account two factors—the chronological and the personal. In periods of transition moods alter quickly, and books, written at one go and with hindsight, are deceptive. This is particularly true of the former Soviet Union, where the ideological shift to the right has been both swift and tremendous (at the risk of being called a dinosaur, I consider people who preach private exploitation, unemployment and social injustice to be right-wingers and not progressive radicals). Who now remembers that, say, Yuri Afanasyev, today great champion of capitalism, only a few years ago criticized the regime in the name of socialist principles? That Boris Yeltsin named "Communist social self-management" as the aim of *perestroika*? Yeltsin, many people will object, is ready to say anything in his quest for power.

There is no doubt that, with his light luggage of principles, Yeltsin has proved so far to be the champion at jumping from bandwagon to bandwagon. He, a highly privileged party dignitary, gained popularity as the enemy of privilege and champion of equality. He then presided over a campaign based on the Russian version of Guizot's slogan "Enrich yourselves." He now has to perform the acrobatic feat of preserving balance on two wagons, the Western one heading toward capitalism and the nationalist one leading toward a Russian empire.

The transition of Aleksandr Yakovlev has been less spectacular. He was one of the first Soviet leaders to deny his country the title of socialist. In his book he dismisses the Marxist vision "according to which in the future society each one will work according to his capacity and get according to his needs" as "utopian." He also "rejects such formulae as socialism and capitalism." Such signs are unmistakable. He has since chosen sides and dropped Marxism altogether.


Puritanism, Fascism and the American University - Pfaff 17
War Parade a Celebration of Megadeath in Iraq - McCarthy 4
LIBERAL OPINION WEEK
June 15, 1991
'ANYONE FOR TENNIS?'

SATISFACTION GUARANTEED

A New Liberal Voice

LIBERAL OPINION WEEK reprints current syndicated, editorial commentary by over 36 influential columnists and America's most talented cartoonists – all with liberal viewpoints.

Enjoy A Pantheon of Pundits

Follow every column, as a rule, by Mary McGrory, David Broder, Tom Wicker, Lars-Erik Nelson, Richard Cohen, Michael Kinsley, Linda Ellerbee, Jesse Jackson.

And humorists Calvin Trillin, Dave Barry, Russell Baker, Art Buchwald, Mark Russell.

Plus Coretta Scott King, Neal Peirce, William Pfaff, Les Payne, Ellen Goodman, Nat Hentoff, Ralph Nader.

As well as most columns by Anthony Lewis, James Hoagland, Germond and Witcover, Jack Anderson & Dale Van Atta, Colman McCarthy, Chris Matthews, Carl Rowan, Hobart Rowen, William Schneider, Bob Greene, Murray Kempton, Jimmy Breslin, Andy Rooney, Mike Royko.

Discover A Thousand Points of Bite

Every week, delight in the barbs by Feiffer, Oliphant, Conrad, Wasserman, Mauldin, Herblock, Borgman, Luckovich, Peters, Marlette, Toles, Summers, Powell, Sack, Rogers and many other cartoonists.

INTRODUCTORY OFFER

One Year (52 Weekly Issues) Only $39.00

Tabloid size • Reference guide • No paid ads
By subscription only • Money-back Guarantee

Call Toll-Free: 800-338-9335
(Business Hours Central Time)

Published by LIVING HISTORY, INC.
Educational reprints since 1960.

LIBERAL OPINION WEEK
P.O. BOX 468-A, VINTON, IA 52349
❒ Send 1-year (52 Issues) for $39.00
❒ Payment Enclosed ❒ Bill Me
(Add $25.00 for each foreign subscription.)
Name _____
Address _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CRITICS ON CRITICISM

Arthur C. Danto

February 19

Hilton Kramer

March 10

Ada Louise Huxtable

March 24 (SOLD OUT)

Brad Leithauser

April 1

Camille Paglia

April 21 (SOLD OUT)

Lectures at
The New York Public Library

Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street
6 p.m. in the Celeste Bartos Forum

Information: (212) 930-0571

Tickets: $5

Czechoslovakia's International Newspaper

THE PRAGUE POST

International
Subscriptions Available

52 Weeks—US $120
26 Weeks—US $65

Prices include airmail delivery

Send subscription orders to
THE PRAGUE POST, Dlouhá třída 2,
110 00 Prague 1, Czechoslovakia

The evolution of Eduard Shevardnadze is instructive because it illustrates the rise and fall of Gorbachev's "new thinking" in foreign affairs. The new policy started from the common-sense perception that nuclear weapons do not choose between social systems and that, since there is no need for overkill, the scope for disarmament is enormous. It then moved gradually to what is now Shevardnadze's basic premise—that peaceful coexistence is incompatible with class struggle. This led inexorably to the acceptance of American suzerainty and to the admission that the capitalist rules of the game are the "universal values" of humankind. And Shevardnadze was not the only one to go that way. He shared this shift with his fellow "knight of Malta," Gorbachev.

And yet, the case of Mikhail Gorbachev is more fascinating and dramatic than that of his colleagues. Not only because of his stature, because he dared to unleash such tremendous forces and had some initial success with *glasnost*, but also because he is the only one who gives the impression of trying to be somehow true to himself. Almost to the end he proclaims himself a Communist and states that his country must stick to the "socialist choice." This emphasis is the more poignant since, having accepted "universal values" and the market as the guarantee of freedom, the choice is an empty one. Gorbachev, at the end of the journey, is really striving for that strange concoction—"capitalism with a human face."

He is here almost at the end of his tether. Nevertheless, he regrets nothing. More precisely, he is sorry for mistakes committed, but not for the basic choice he made of shaking society. On the other hand, he does not study the underlying forces, does not ask himself why, when he was deserted by the *priviligentsia*, he stood so isolated, so tragically alone. Admittedly, the man cannot be judged by this book, this last-minute plea *pro domo sua*, written as he was desperately clinging to power and the nationalist tide was sweeping him aside.

The revival of nationalism. Writing about Solzhenitsyn some fifteen years ago, in the midst of the gulag controversy, pleading for the witness and against the prophet, I pondered why a man so obviously a figure from the past was still relevant in the Soviet Union. Little did I know. *Rebuilding Russia* is a reprint of a pamphlet written in June 1990 and published in Russia by that September. Some of it, however, is strangely topical. The idea of a "Slavic commonwealth" of Russians, Ukrainians and Byelorussians, launched last December, came straight from these pages, except that the exiled writer wanted to add to it the colonized northern parts of Kazakhstan. His purely mythical references to a civilized, prosperous czarist Russia also find an echo, notably in Sobchak's book. His plea to send women back to the kitchen and the nursery has adepts too.

For all his topicality, however, Solzhenitsyn is not as much a prophet in his own country as one might have imagined. This is due to the fact that, for all sorts of reasons good and bad, he has no love of Western capitalism. He is unimpressed by its supermarket and shocked by its television. He imagines for Russia a rather odd mixture, combining for a time the strong central power of the present regime with local institutions inspired by the czarist model and a capitalism of small enterprises, little banks and no concentration. His model for the present bears as much relation to reality as his vision of the past.

This is not the place to bring up to date the old Russian controversy between the Slavophiles and the Westernizers, which even in czarist times did not neatly divide reactionaries from progressives. Among the former you had people, such as the *narodniks*, who hoped to skip the capitalist transition and move Russia straight to a higher stage, based on the *mir* or the commune. Among the latter, you had those who wanted to import from the West a good system of exploitation. On the whole, however, it was among the Slavophiles that one smelled the stench of jingoism, racism and reaction, while most of the Westernizers borrowed from the outside world its most progressive ideas, which at the time were increasingly socialist. By now, the lines are even more complicated. Today's Westernizers may be better than the Slavophiles on such issues as human rights or ethnic discrimination, but the ideas they bring back are inspired by the Chicago school or the Heritage Foundation. Indeed, Boris Yeltsin is leading a strange coalition combining monetarists, the new golden boys (often newly converted teachers of Marxism-Leninism, which says something about the depth of their convictions), with Russian nationalists of the Solzhenitsyn vintage. It is an alliance he will find increasingly difficult to keep together.

New Times of Trouble undoubtedly, but also times of transition, when people and ideas change faster than one expects.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Writing about Solzhenitsyn in the past I argued that, when a genuinely socialist society emerges in Russia, it will have to pay tribute to the man, mentally as well as physically a casualty of Stalinism. Today the prospect seems even more distant, yet when it comes, it will also be necessary to find a special place for Gorbachev, dismantler and victim of the Stalinist heritage. Real biographies of Yeltsin and Gorbachev are still to be written, but though the first is now unquestionably the winner, there is little doubt that the second will take pride of place when historians come to deal with this unfinished story. □

Zapata's Grandchildren

ILAN STAVANS

THE OTHER VOICE: Essays on Modern Poetry. *By Octavio Paz. Translated by Helen Lane. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. 160 pp. $16.95.*

THE CAMPAIGN. *By Carlos Fuentes. Translated by Alfred Mac Adam. Farrar, Straus & Giroux. 246 pp. $22.95.*

Contemporary Mexican literature read and discussed abroad seems, as if by some mysterious force, reduced to two names: Octavio Paz and Carlos Fuentes. Many others are translated—Paco Ignacio Taibo II, Angeles Mastretta and José Emilio Pacheco, for example—but the attention given them is generally minimal. This may be because, as spokesmen for Mexican culture, both Fuentes and Paz embody a cosmopolitanism and set of highly aesthetic values that are shared and admired by Western critical circles. Through their art, they examine the national symbols and collective psyche with a language and narrative style in fashion internationally—thoroughly modernist and not at all parochial.

Yet within the national borders these two create discomfort. In a country with a tradition of writers who oppose the state, they are either sanctified by the government—and thus are treated with a measure of suspicion, as is the case with Paz—or they choose to spend most of their time abroad, and thus lack a physical presence as representatives of popular dissent, as is the case with Fuentes. Having shared a friendship based on mutual respect and the commonality of left-wing ideological objectives, the two collided in the eighties when Enrique Krauze, a Paz protégé, criticized Fuentes for lack of Mexicanhood and described him as a charlatan more interested in himself than in the country. Since then, they have lived worlds apart.

The recipient of the 1990 Nobel Prize for Literature and arguably the most prestigious Latin American today, Paz, as editor in chief of the literary and political monthly *Vuelta*, has generated a zealous group of followers who defend him from criticism. The antagonism of the government during the sixties has been transformed into total support: He is often seen on television, where his name accompanies that of the President, Carlos Salinas de Gortari; his books, idealized by politicians, are "officially" part of the national treasure; and his judgments are glorified by politicians and journalists. Young writers who surround him with applause are published quickly by Fondo de Cultura Económica, the state-supported imprint, while those he ignores or dishonors may find obstacles in their path. While his poetry may have become "much too rhetorical," in the words of Joseph Brodsky, his inquisitive eye persists in examining, in fascinating essays, every detail of modern culture, from the fall of Mikhail Gorbachev to Edith Piaf, from Manuel Noriega to videocassettes. Although he lives and works in his nation's capital, his artistic scope is truly universal.

What picture of Mexico emerges from his *oeuvre*? Since the publication, in serialized form in 1950, of his controversial study *The Labyrinth of Solitude*, the country has been perceived as one populated by introverted, amorphous citizens who idolize the Virgin of Guadalupe as their holy mother, have been dispossessed by history and perpetuate in their domestic life a series of barbaric behavioral patterns inherited from the Spanish conquerors. A favorite symbol, immortalized in a short story by Julio Cortázar, is that of the axolotl: In perpetual metamorphosis, Mexicans, like this peculiar amphibian, have an unstable identity; they hide behind masks and are afraid to discover who they really are. Women are seen as dependent, voiceless entities, part saint and part prostitute. And sex is a violent act in which men show their superiority. Paz inherited his sociological views from Samuel Ramos, a philosopher who in 1934 authored a psychoanalytic meditation on the national soul, *Profile of Man and Culture in Mexico*, which investigated the reasons Mexicans have such a profound inferiority complex and why they perceive white foreigners as *patrones*. Paz expanded Ramos's ideas and revised his conclusions, using the inferiority complex as a doorway to understanding the nation's idiosyncrasy. He dumped Ramos's psychoanalytic framework and studied the history of the church, national literature, women and culture in general from his own instinctive anthropological viewpoint. *The Labyrinth of Solitude* should be handled with great caution, though. The author's status as a privileged member of the intelligentsia often distorts the Mexican reality, and he ends up denigrating the Mexican character through his obsession with complexes and fears. The axolotl complex his book describes doesn't affect Paz personally in any way—he has no apparent identity problem; in spite of his Mexican self, he is the observer, not the observed.

Since *The Labyrinth of Solitude*, Paz has produced a massive body of essays in which he expands his ideas on Mexico, but also, and primarily, he attempts to understand the deep political, cultural and economic transformations as the millennium approaches. He has written about the unification of Germany, about the Hispanic population in the United States, and also has produced fascinating examinations of Claude Lévi-Strauss, Marcel Duchamp and Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz.

Fuentes has the more precarious standing within the country. Scorned in some quarters as a dandy whose "invisible" links to the national soul are more a product of his imagination than a reality (he spent his childhood in Panama, Chile, Brazil, the United States and elsewhere), he makes his residence in Europe and the United States, and occasionally in Mexico. He is still a tireless critic of the government but his ideology has a somewhat outmoded cast to it. His literature has become at times monotonous and predictable because, overtaken by his

Ilan Stavans, a Mexican writer, is finishing The Stranger Within, *a book on Hispanic culture in the United States. He is the author, among other books, of the forthcoming* Imagining Columbus: The Literary Voyage *(Twayne) and translator of a bilingual edition of* Sentimental Songs *by Felipe Alfau (Dalkey Archive).*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HOW TO JEOPARDIZE A PERFECTLY GOOD FRIENDSHIP.

Give someone you care about a gift subscription to *The Nation*.

In all likelihood, the recipient will get just as enraged, worked up and aggravated about the issues the magazine covers as our regular subscribers do.

That's because *The Nation* covers those issues with a critical spirit and an independent perspective that set us apart from other publications. Which isn't surprising, since it's written by such original thinkers as Alexander Cockburn, Kirkpatrick Sale and Frances FitzGerald.

And politics isn't all we cover. Our subscribers also enjoy our writing on the arts, which is of such extraordinary clarity and intelligence that it alone is worth the price of a subscription.

So maybe you should give *The Nation* as a gift after all.

Just be sure your relationship can stand it.

The Nation.
Subscribing to our principles isn't enough.

YES! I THINK MY RELATIONSHIP CAN TAKE IT. Please send 47 issues of *The Nation* to the following people at the gift rate of $28 for the first gift and just $24 for each additional gift. And send a card announcing the subscription(s).

GIFT TO (Please print)

ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP

GIFT FROM (Your name)

ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP

☐ Enclosed is $_____ for ____ subscription(s).
☐ Bill me later.

Foreign surface postage: add $18/47 issues.
Air Mail rates available upon request.
Subscriptions payable in U.S. funds.

THE NATION
P.O. BOX 10791, DES MOINES, IA 50340-0791 G2B311

own metanovelistic tricks, Fuentes seems to be writing for academics with a passion for Bakhtin. He frequently embarks on ambitious works of fiction that encompass the many Americas, Europe and the Iberian Peninsula, setting his plots in Madrid, Paris or Savannah, Georgia, as he did in *Terra Nostra* and *Constancia and Other Stories for Virgins*. His investiture, he loves to believe, is that of citizen of Latin America—a kind of metaphor of the entire continent.

But once in a while, Fuentes's literary health emerges in better shape. Proof is his latest novel, *The Campaign*. Written between June 1989 and February 1990, it represents the first installment of a forthcoming trilogy about the romantic wars of independence in Latin America during the early nineteenth century, when the continent surreptitiously embraced the ideas of Rousseau, Voltaire and Diderot. (The remaining parts of the trilogy are to be *The Dead Bride* and *The Centennial Ball*.) The narrative has as its protagonist an Argentine dreamer, Baltasar Bustos. While courting his married lover, Ofelia Salamanca, he wanders from Buenos Aires to Lima, from El Dorado to Mexico, searching for his role as a *libertador* of society. A compelling hero of epic proportions, Bustos finds his way into dangerous but crucial battles with a *joie de vivre* reminiscent of the children's tales of Michael Ende. Building around the mythological theme of the stolen baby, Fuentes, with a sense of chivalry and romance, creates a sideboard of characters that include ranch owners, viceroys and intellectuals submerged in the fragile task of deciding the future of the whole continent. This novel is not only readable but enjoyable, unlike many of Fuentes's other titles, including his gargantuan *Christopher Unborn*. No linguistic gimmicks here, no narrative excesses.

This is not to say that the book is without its flaws. Several segments are repetitive and stillborn; the narrator, a printer of illegal texts named Manuel Varela, often describes actions that, even with the help of letters and indirect communication with Bustos, would remain beyond the scope of his perception. Stereotypes of women (whether saints, prostitutes or devoted lovers) and Mexican men (machismo) are once more enhanced. The reader is at times lost in geographical and historical locations due to enormous narrative jumps. Also, while the translation by Alfred Mac Adam is skillful, the Spanish original vacillates when using regionalisms, as if the author couldn't make up his mind whether to develop a certain narrative strategy or abandon it altogether. Yet audiences in Europe and the United States, perhaps not sensitive to the telescoping of actual historical events, will be pleased. Unlike in *The General in His Labyrinth* by Gabriel García Márquez (obliquely mentioned in chapter nine), history here isn't an obstacle but a springboard. *The Campaign* is a pleasurable read by a writer who perceives himself as Latin America's advocate and intellectual freedom fighter.

Paz isn't concerned with his earthly standing, at least not in *The Other Voice*, a slim collection of speeches and what in Spanish are known as *piezas de ocasión*, or "circumstantial writings" penned for a given social event. The volume's prevailing theme will be recognized by his readers: poetry as a nonconforming, rebellious force of the modern age. From Frost to Eliot to Neruda, names and ideas parade and are pondered in a delicious prose meant for the highly educated. As always, the observations emerge from a strictly personal viewpoint, never unwise or without substance. After an illustrious career as an essayist that spans almost fifty years, Paz's only obsessions are his personal ghosts: Rimbaud, Baudelaire and the Latin American modernists.

The Other Voice is made of two parts—poetry among the Romantics and Symbolists, and poetry in our *fin de siècle*—and the most outstanding pieces in it might well be "The Few and the Many" and "Quantity and Quality." The first is a dissertation on who reads poetry today and why. Paz argues that while poets are elitists by nature, despite the tiny circulation of their craft it has a profound impact on society. Thus, poems challenge the accepted view of radical change as something that affects the masses. The second essay, a study of poetry and consumerism, further develops the same thesis by arguing that immediate best sellers are often meant to become transitory literature, while more obscure volumes of poetry, say Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* or Rubén Darío's *Azul . . .*, in spite of their lack of commercial appeal, are permanent and fundamental. Coming from a man of letters with little interest in novels, Paz's argument can be taken as a sharp attack against the popular appeal of fiction. (A section of *The Bow and the Lyre* formally accuses the novelist as being "too ambiguous.") And in-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

deed, one senses here a sour, antifiction mood. Though he never states it baldly, Paz's view is that novelists have sold themselves to the devil of consumerism while poets remain truthful to their lyrical soul.

As a social and cultural commentator who in his previous work has exhausted every poet and aesthetic movement of note since the Bible and Ovid, Paz has become too impatient and his style too compact, which, once in a while, results in the oversimplification of ideas. Paz often makes use of evasive images that, while poetic, obscure meaning ("modernity emits criticism the way an octopus emits ink"). Notwithstanding these setbacks, what makes him an extraordinary man of letters is his comfort with subjects as dissimilar as the market economy and José Martí, the Hispanic psyche and the architecture of pyramids.

The nature of a great writer sooner or later pushes him to overshadow his contemporaries, Joseph Conrad said once when referring to Thomas Hardy. For different reasons, Octavio Paz and Carlos Fuentes deserve their reputations: the former as a national guru whose insights into the culture have influenced the way we understand Mexico, or for that matter Latin America as a whole. He has managed to transcend his nationality and thereby reach an international market. The latter, on the other hand, writes a literature meant for export to begin with—he is a novelistic gamesman who, one sometimes feels, uses Mexico expediently as a means to sell himself. Through these writers we see Mexico as representative of universality, and universality as it happens to encompass Mexico, in forms as fittingly varied as the axolotl itself. But it is time for other national voices to be taken as seriously abroad, too. Mexico deserves it. □

I'm All White, Jack

LAWRENCE B. GLICKMAN

THE WAGES OF WHITENESS: Race and the Making of the American Working Class. *By David R. Roediger. Verso. 191 pp. $54.95. Paper $16.95.*

While it has become commonplace for progressives to decry the Western-created "other," we rarely consider the construction of whiteness. Despite the proliferation of critical race studies, we still tend to see whiteness as natural. Labor historians, according to David Roediger, have also tended to view race as a natural category. Roediger's exciting new book, *The Wages of Whiteness*, makes us understand what it means to see oneself as white in a new way. According to Roediger, in the period between the American Revolution and the Civil War, working-class whites tried to strengthen their tenuous grip on freedom, independence and modernity by representing African-Americans as not only incapable of achieving them but as symbolizing their opposite. Thus, the emerging political ideology of white workers—in short, the making of the white working class—was inextricably tied to the debasement of black culture.

Lawrence B. Glickman is a graduate student in history at the University of California, Berkeley.

Labor historians, who have celebrated working-class agency in creating an oppositional culture and politics, have been uncharacteristically reticent in examining white workers' racist practices. The "new labor history," as Roediger puts it, "has hesitated to explore working class 'whiteness' and white supremacy as creations, in part, of the white working class itself."

Working-class racism has long been noted by labor historians, but they have usually excused it as merely one instance of widespread racism or explained it as a byproduct of economic forces, especially job competition. Roediger does not ignore such forces; capitalist development and the painful process of industrialization are central to his analysis of the forging of whiteness. Yet he stresses that white workers had choices in responding to economic transformations and often opted to respond in blatantly racist ways.

To drive home Roediger's thesis that the turn toward "whiteness" and racism was not inevitable, *The Wages of Whiteness* emphasizes two areas that combined self-conscious thought and action—ideology and culture—and that played key roles in the formation of a white working class. On the ideological side, the key to the construction of whiteness was republicanism, the American ethic of independent citizenship and good government. Culturally, workers defined whiteness by its supposed distance from preindustrial black folkways as imagined by whites.

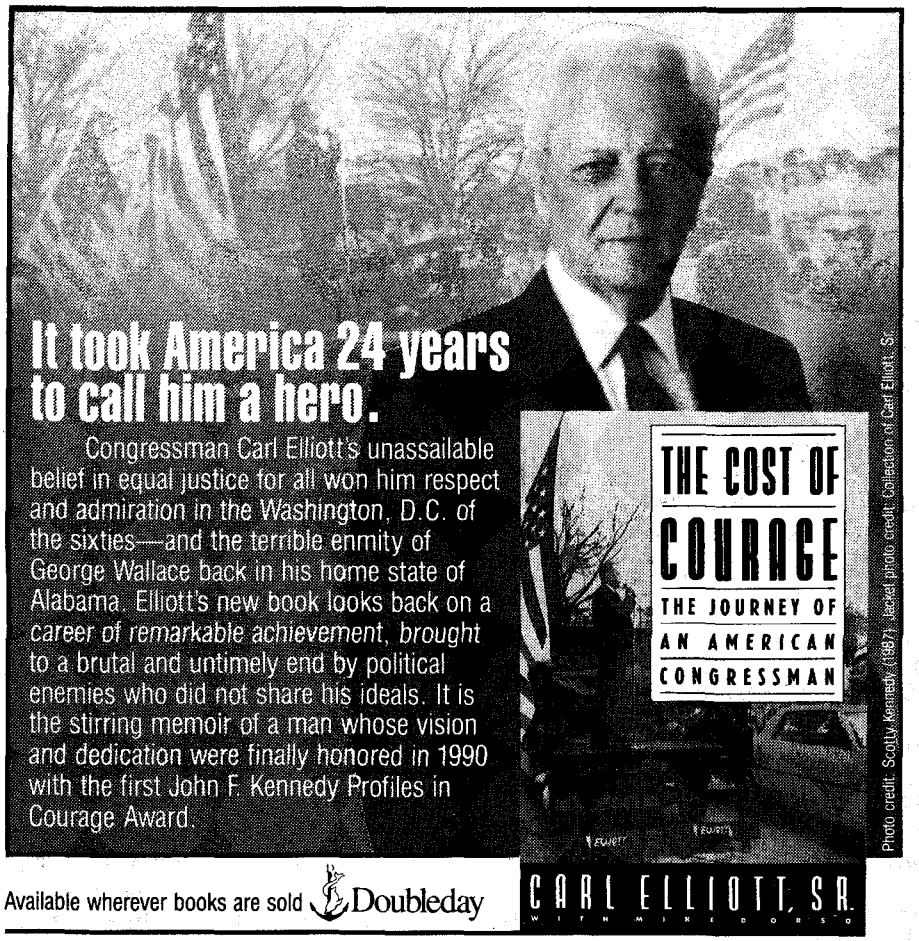
Roediger argues that the construction of working-class whiteness began in earnest only after the American Revolution. Many whites came to colonial America as indentured servants (distinguished from chattel slaves in the colonial era only by their finite term of service) or worked in other jobs at the bottom of the economic hierarchy. According to Roediger, the "many gradations of unfreedom among whites made it difficult to draw fast lines between any idealized free white worker and a pitied or scorned servile Black worker."

The Revolution transformed the nation's political and racial landscape by fusing the terms "white" and "worker." Roediger argues that two developments were especially important in this process: the growth of republicanism and the rapid spread of wage labor. These pushed in opposing directions; the former promised freedom for workers while the latter threatened to revoke it. Republicanism encouraged the active citizenship of male workers. But, according to the same ideology, wage labor made such independence impossible by subordinating the worker to the whims of an employer.

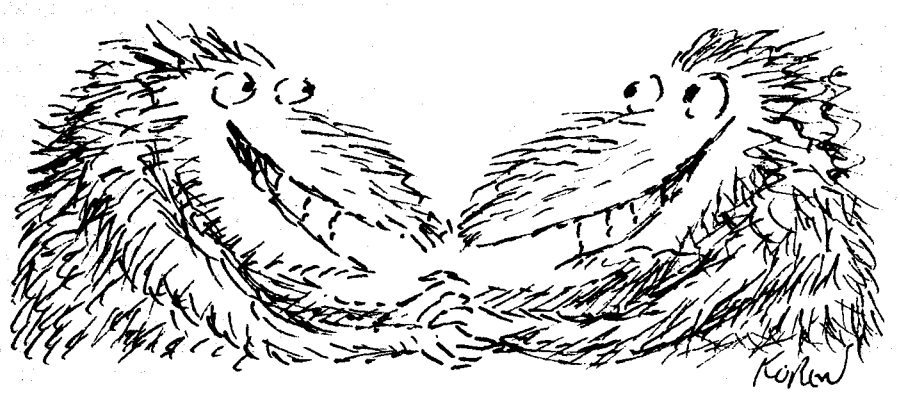
Further, as Roediger shrewdly points out, following the lead of historian Edmund Morgan in *American Slavery, American Freedom*, the discourse of independence and freedom took place in a slaveholding republic. White workers pursued the "dream of a republic of small producers" but were well aware of the "nightmare of chattel slavery." Insecure white workers felt themselves to be hovering between these poles. Many workers reacted to this dilemma by arguing that true republican citizenship would be possible only with the elimination of the "wage system." To labor's republican theorists, wage labor amounted to "wage slavery," a condition barely distinguishable from chattel slavery. Spurred by the revolutionary promise of equality in citizenship, the American labor movement became, the author writes, the "world leader in militant criticisms of wage work as slavery."

However, as Roediger puts it, "in a society in which Blackness and servility were so intertwined assertions of white freedom could not be raceless." The radical implications of the wage-slavery critique lay in tension with its racial connotations. Workers preferred the term "white slavery" to "wage slavery." Rather than opposing the existence of slavery in all its forms, this term condemned only the fact that whites were approaching this condi-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED


It took America 24 years to call him a hero.
Congressman Carl Elliott's unassailable belief in equal justice for all won him respect and admiration in the Washington, D.C. of the sixties—and the terrible enmity of George Wallace back in his home state of Alabama. Elliott's new book looks back on a career of remarkable achievement, brought to a brutal and untimely end by political enemies who did not share his ideals. It is the stirring memoir of a man whose vision and dedication were finally honored in 1990 with the first John F. Kennedy Profiles in Courage Award.
THE COST OF COURAGE
THE JOURNEY OF AN AMERICAN CONGRESSMAN
Photo credit: Scotty Kennedy (1987). Jacket photo credit: Collection of Carl Elliott, Sr.
Available wherever books are sold
Doubleday
CARL ELLIOTT, SR.
WITH MIKE DORSO

GET PERSONAL WITH
The Nation.



Double your fun for half the price with a **PERSONALS** ad in the Classified section of America's oldest newsweekly. Get two ads for the price of one, four for the price of two and so on.

Nation readers are **PERSONALS** readers, interested in politics, literature, film, theater, dance, music and art. And they're waiting to read your ad. So to meet new people and make new music, just accept our invitation to **GET PERSONAL WITH THE NATION!** See the coupon in the Classified section for details.

tion. As Roediger notes, white slavery "was not an act of solidarity with the slave but rather a call to arms to end the inappropriate oppression of whites." The difference was significant. Whereas the comparison of workers with slaves implied the need for social and political transformations, such as the abolition of the wage system, white slavery "did not necessarily require a structural solution." It could be and often was proslavery. As Roediger writes, "white revolutionary pride could . . . open the way for republican racism."

One way white workers of the mid-nineteenth century differentiated themselves from slaves, Roediger argues, was to rename jobs that previously had a ring of dependency. Rather than referring to masters, for example, many invoked the Dutch term "boss," which meant the same thing but did not have the same connotations of dependency to English speakers. White domestics who had previously been called servants began to balk at the term, preferring "hired help." Rather than speaking of "hireling" wage labor, they spoke of themselves as "free laborers." When whites used such euphemisms they redefined the meaning of independence; more than anything else it came to mean "not black." In the process, all kinds of dependent wage relationships became acceptable.

This approach redefined the meaning of working-class citizenship and republicanism. It made citizenship a function of race rather than a relationship to the means of production. Revising the scholarship of sociologist Pierre L. van der Berghe, who coined the term "herrenvolk democracy" to refer to racist societies comprising a dominant racial group that maintains relative equality and, alongside it, a subordinated group of noncitizens, Roediger refers to antebellum America as having "herrenvolk republicanism" in which free whites were themselves divided by class. Working-class whites, then, were unfree masters, both dependent laborers and free citizens.

The ideological construction of whiteness had a cultural corollary. Historians E.P. Thompson and Herbert Gutman have both argued that industrialization transformed the life style of workers accustomed to preindustrial work culture. Roediger connects the anxieties arising from this change to racial anxieties. He argues that the white working class viewed blacks as symbols of their own imagined preindustrial past. Like the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

emergent forms of white working-class republicanism, the white culture that emerged was largely concerned with representing black culture negatively.

Roediger's interpretation of minstrel shows is the backbone of his cultural analysis. White minstrels donned blackface to caricature blackness, he argues, and in the process they created whiteness. As Roediger writes, "blackface minstrels were the first self-consciously *white* entertainers in the world." He shows that popular folk characters, including "Coon," "Mose" and "Buck," referred to preindustrial whites early in the nineteenth century. By mid-century, they were stock black minstrel characters, dandies or unsophisticates bypassed by the modern world of industry and commerce. By exaggerating blacks' alleged inability to cope with the industrial world, the minstrels bolstered white workers' confidence.

If transformations in working-class ideology and culture successfully defined blacks out of the ranks of the civilized citizen, one important question remained. Who was white? This was by no means self-evident. David Duke's recent consternation over whether Spanish and Latino people could be defined as white would have been recognizable in the nineteenth century. Roediger uses the case of the Irish as a paradigm of white racial formation in antebellum America. Initially viewed as an entirely different race—"nativist folk wisdom held that an Irishman was a 'nigger,' inside out"—the Irish not only resolutely refused to align with black workers but did everything in their power to distance themselves from them. "Instead of seeing their struggles as bound up with those of colonized and colored people around the world," Roediger writes, "they came to see their struggles as against such people." This became a predictable course of action for other immigrant groups in the next great wave of immigration in the late nineteenth century.

The Civil War and emancipation "removed the ability of white workers to derive satisfaction from defining themselves as 'not slaves' and called into question self-definitions centered on being 'not Black.' " It also created an unprecedented opportunity for white workers to view black freedom as a model for their own process of liberation. Yet ingrained racism made this path very rocky. Roediger shows how the labor uprising of 1877 reflected both the promise of a new era in race relations and the continuation of older patterns. White labor's historic attempt to include blacks in trade unions and collective action was marred by lingering fears of such an alliance.

The main weakness of *The Wages of Whiteness* lies in Roediger's failure to include gender as a central element in the making of the white working class. This is significant because the wages of whiteness were also what nineteenth-century workers called "white man's wages." Roediger acknowledges that independence was "a powerful masculine personal ideal," but he does not draw out the gendered implications of this belief. In working-class ideology, women represented a form of dependence that set male independence in sharp relief. Many parallels between the representations of blacks and women in nineteenth-century labor discourse could profitably have been pursued.

Roediger is certainly right to criticize the racist core of white working-class culture in the nineteenth century. However, white workers' republican discourse also opened up the possibility of racial equality. Working-class efforts to ally with blacks after the Civil War—however delayed and halfhearted—arose at least in part from that legacy.

Notwithstanding these shortcomings, *The Wages of Whiteness* is an extremely important and insightful book. The story Roediger tells is a tragedy. White America was impoverished by its negative self-definition, its cowardice and its stubborn refusal to learn from, rather than fear, a rich black culture. It still is. □

A Couple of White Chicks

DANA FRANK

WOMEN OF THE KLAN: Racism and Gender in the 1920s. *By Kathleen M. Blee. University of California. 228 pp. $24.95.*

Within hours of David Duke's defeat in the race for Louisiana Governor last November, it began to sink in that 55 percent of all white Louisiana voters had voted for him. What I didn't grasp until I read *Women of the Klan* several days later was that half of those Duke voters were female—a total of 350,000 women. Sisterhood is powerful indeed.

Kathleen Blee's superb new book on women in the 1920s Ku Klux Klan explains with terrifying banality how easily white women have slid into racist politics in the past, and how deep white supremacy lurks in U.S. women's history. For those of us who thought women's history was long past the "We Were There" stage—well girls, "we" were there, too. Women counted for nearly half of all Klan members in some states in the 1920s. In Indiana alone, Blee's case study, a quarter of a million women joined the Klan, about one-third of all white native-born women in the entire state.

What is so chilling about Blee's story is that those women did not join just to serve as obeisant handmaidens to their male masters. In contrast to the original or First Klan of the late 1860s, in which bands of armed men had terrorized freed black people in defense of a pedestaled, passive white womanhood, the 1920s or Second Klan appealed to white women in the name of . . . feminism. Yes, feminism. Or at least women's rights. Crucial to the popularity of the Women's K.K.K. was its ability to present itself as women's own vehicle for collective political self-advancement. They would use the Klan to defend against erosion of their newly won power of the vote by evil, conspiring Catholics, Jews and African-Americans.

Klan women built a thriving movement culture in the 1920s that embraced entire communities, beginning with secret inductions of Klan babies, a Junior Klan (with little hooded costumes for toddlers), teen orders (the Tri-K-Klub), Klan weddings in which couples exchanged vows silhouetted against burning crosses, sewing circles and Klan-sponsored funerals. At jolly group sing-alongs women's klaverns joined in "Yes, the Klan Has No Catholics" to the tune of "Yes, We Have No Bananas." Other favorites included "There'll Be a Hot Time in the Old Town Tonight" and "Hail, Hail the Gang's All Here."

Blee's study shatters any vestigial notions we might hold that politics sorts out into a tidy spectrum with feminists, antiracists and socialists arrayed on one side and sexists, white supremacists and capitalists on the other. Blee's depiction of the former Klanswomen she interviewed

Dana Frank teaches American studies at the University of California, Santa Cruz. She is completing a book on the Seattle labor movement in the 1920s.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is extremely disturbing precisely because these women were shockingly ordinary. They remained politically active in the women's movement and the peace movement. Indeed, they retained "a facile ability to fold bitter racial and religious bigotry into progressive politics."

The implications for women's history are immense. Historians of white women have known for some time now the racist and nativist underpinnings of the women's suffrage movement. As Angela Davis and others have stressed, many of the founding white feminists were deeply racist. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, for example, objected to the Fifteenth Amendment because it granted the vote to "Sambo" before enfranchising white women. Alice Paul, leading the National Women's Party after the suffrage victory in 1919, dismissed the issue of African-American women's voting rights as a "racial" question, not a "feminist" one.

But most historians of white women have resisted confronting the racial agenda of their subjects. Blee's account should challenge such quiescence. Her Klanswomen place white supremacy smack in the center of Progressive white womanhood. Before, during and after working with the Klan they labored as temperance activists. They campaigned for women's suffrage. They fought for child welfare. They rooted out vice in the cities. In short, they were average white middle-class women activists—and they believed deeply in white supremacy.

The key connection between women's rights and the K.K.K. was morality. Most white female progressive activists wanted the vote not only for their own empowerment but in order to better agitate against "immorality." As Blee shows all too clearly, Klan-sponsored antivice campaigns shaded easily into fanatic anti-Semitism and especially anti-Catholicism. A thriving market in Klan-produced anti-Catholic pornography spread lurid—and evidently believed—tales of captive nuns raped by oversexed priests who forced their victims to abort their babies. Sexuality proved a profitable demarcation between "us" and "them" in the sexual politics of hate.

Blee argues that the 1920s Klan ultimately collapsed by decade's end under the weight of these morality campaigns. While this explanation of the Klan's demise is not entirely persuasive, her tale of profit-mongering stump speakers mobilizing their audiences with ever more lewd morality campaigns and brought down in the end by their own philandering sounds a lot like Jimmy Swaggart to me. Somewhere here is a clue to the inherent limits of such campaigns, and to the strategies for combating them.

The most disturbing thing about Blee's book is quite how normal it shows white supremacy to be. The Indiana women's Klan was so thoroughly integrated with mainstream white Protestant institutions as to be inseparable from them. Churches opened their doors to Klan events, their ministers not averse to the extra cash such collaborations might generate. Newspaper editors freely endorsed the Klan. Their hoods turned back, Klan marchers paraded right down Main Street, torches in hand, while crowds cheered. "All the better people" were in the Klan, one woman recalled.

That very "normalcy" made the women's Klan all the more effective. While male Klansmen tore about in the night asserting their manhood in the vigilante activities we commonly associate with the Klan, Klanswomen brought a uniquely female style to white supremacist organizing. Their method, the consumer boycott, was equally surreptitious but grew out of the sexual division of labor. In insidious "whisper" campaigns, they spread word informally across their com-

MEDIA WATCH

Is Anyone Responsible?
How Television Frames Political Issues
Shanto Iyengar
"Shanto Iyengar scores again! Extending the experimental studies in his and Donald Kinder's landmark book *News That Matters,* Iyengar demonstrates that the content of television news stories guides viewers in their assignment of responsibility for success or failure of public policy."
—Richard A. Brody, author of *Assessing the President: The Media, Elite Opinion and Public Support* $19.95

Making Local News
Phyllis Kaniss
Kaniss explores how the economic interests of media owners, the professional motives of journalists, and the strategies of media-wise politicians combine to shape the local news we see, hear, and read. "All of us who care about the news in America are in her debt."—Edwin Diamond, media columnist, *New York Magazine* $24.95

At bookstores or, to order call:
1-800-621-2736. In Illinois: 312-568-1550

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

munities of merchants and employers who failed the test of whiteness and Protestantism. Klanswomen's boycotts soon metastasized to include employers who hired or trafficked with blacks, Jews or Catholics. Endorsed merchants received little cards reading "TWK—Trade With a Klansman." Blee asserts that these consumer campaigns were "both more extensive and more deadly than the actions of Klansmen alone would suggest."

Blee's insight is crucial if we are to uncover, and grasp, the depth of white supremacy. Women Klan members themselves saw their boycotts as innocuous. "No one I interviewed saw the economic power of the Klan as a political act," Blee observes. Yet with their boycotts those same interviewees destroyed thousands of small businesses, whose owners had spent decades apparently integrating themselves into Indiana communities. Consumer campaigns, moreover, Blee points out, were especially hard to combat because their organization was invisible.

I have only one quarrel with Blee's analysis. Curiously, given her past work on working-class history, she evades the question of class here, mentioning only offhandedly at one point that Indiana's Klanswomen were of both middle- and working-class backgrounds. Class, though, is not a question we can afford to ignore, as the other big statistic from the Duke campaign underscores: 66 percent of those with incomes over $75,000 voted for Edwards, not Duke.

Duke's candidacy symbolized if anything the failure of class politics in this country. One anecdote in *The New York Times* summed it up perfectly. Sharon Duhe, 22-year-old white single mother, explained her vehement support for Duke all in terms of race: "They just have those babies and go on welfare," she complained to a reporter. She herself, though, was unemployed and on welfare. Yes, but "the blacks get more."

That ability to conjure a racial smokescreen around the gender and class oppression of white working women is what Duke is all about. How exactly, then, had class politics failed to address the race question in 1920s Indiana, leaving an opening for white supremacists with a feminist rhetoric? How exactly did white supremacy transcend divisions between working- and middle-class women? Either we deal with the deep, historically rooted appeal of hate politics to white women, and construct a feminist *and* class politics that can combat that tradition, or we face a Duke victory in the future, and not just in Louisiana. □

There Is a Tide

ALFRED CORN

FOREIGN NEON. *By Daniel Halpern. Knopf. 85 pp. $19.*

For his own generation of American poets, Daniel Halpern has performed the role that Ezra Pound or James Laughlin did for another. As editor of *Antaeus*, publisher of Ecco Press, director of the National Poetry Series and anthologist, he has been energetic in bringing the poetry of his contemporaries to public attention. This is all the more important in that the group of poets who started out in the early 1970s might be called the "unlaureated generation," seldom awarded major prizes and never named, to choose just one representative index, poetry consultant to the Library of Congress.

Halpern has reason to be proud, then, of having published poets like Louise Glück, Robert Hass and Sandra McPherson, but what may be less apparent is that he is a poet himself. *Foreign Neon* is his seventh book and may well be the one that will attract notice to his own poetry. In its range of subject matter and achievement of a language at once searching, relaxed and elegant, it is his best. To be conscious as a contemporary poet means being aware of oneself as a mosaic, and following Halpern as he assembles the various shards of identity is instructive and expansive. It's easy to see why direct references to Mandelstam ("Occupied"), to a painting of Mary Magdalene ("Of Caravaggio"), to Count Basie ("No 'Count") or to Muriel Rukeyser ("Muriel") might appear in these poems, but it is more interesting to find the sensibility reflected in them as well as in references not made explicit.

Halpern's encounter with experience brings out in him an observer, a prober of mystery, rather than a judge. It's as though reality is viewed from a vantage point high up, a perspective shaped by contemplation of human strivings and disappointments over centuries of time. The result is a poetry close to repose, where uncertainties and stubborn mysteries are entertained in a personal variant of the negative capability that Keats argued for as the poet's proper stance. The volume's title poem begins with a gesture toward a Stevensian snowscape high in the mountains but then turns indoors toward the poet's own house in the foothills in late summer. The enigmatic presence of the speaker's wife, the glass of water offered him, the "wormwood nightstand"—everything takes on an aura of mystery, as in the paintings of Hopper or Magritte. Domestic realms prove as resonant as "high-contrast cities/lit-up at night in foreign neon." The poem concludes with an image of

> the woman's
> face in shadow, one hand
> on the white sheet, looking deeply into
> the inevitability
> of her future, the rising sun
> tattooing the noticeably smooth
> surface of
> her cheek, a color akin to foreign
> neon.

Halpern manages to overcome normal resistance to the "-ly" adverb by choosing two of them suggesting a quality of observation that goes beneath the surface of things and making them rhyme with "inevitability."

The author in middle age always takes time to look backward, to count blessings, revisit the pain of loss or take stock of present possibilities. *Foreign Neon* has a number of poems about childhood as well as some about earlier loves. One of the most engaging of these is a prose poem ("Coffee") that retells the story of a love affair back in the 1960s with a woman who lived with her little girl in a house in Laurel Canyon. Halpern reckons that the daughter will by now be about 30 and have her own child. Without ever mentioning the loss of youth or exploiting nostalgia, he makes available a sense of bereavement for a self "no longer in sight."

The tinge and ache of mystery pervades "Red Setter" as well, a sunset poem like many in the volume. Here the narrator pictures a town on the Mediterranean coast at a time when he is free of obligations, his sole pastime daily walks with his Irish setter and evening reading. The town at dusk takes on a dreamlike irreality: "In the wind the lights, on wires,/ swing, widening their circles of light,/ diminishing the circles," and when he returns home, "the small light/flickers in the window, bringing you/back to the set of rooms/that awaits you in darkness." The "red setter" is also of course the late afternoon sun, and as such, a forerunner of darkness and death. The lamplit house

---

Alfred Corn is the author of five books of poetry. A new collection, Autobiographies, *will be published by Viking later this year.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is understood as a shelter and, at the level of allegory, the poet's art. Various sources of light are part of the subject as well as the issue of natural, fleshly existence epitomized by the dog, here conflated with the setting sun.

A number of the poems give the sense of a shared life, the dialogue of marriage, in which the partner is by turns supportive companion, adversary, workaday associate or vessel of mystery. We learn more about her by what she does than by how she appears, as in a short poem like "Candles for Bessie," where the narrator visits the churches of Rome with his wife as she lights votive candles in side chapels. At day's end, the poet remarks, "And all over the city your twenty prayers/throw light against the darkening vestibules," so that we sense his gratitude for these extra sources of light she has provided. Other poems, like "Infidelities," are less upbeat, and the granitic conclusion to "Tidal" gives pause: "my solitude fits like fabric, tailored to last forever." These have a paradoxically reinforcing effect, though. We can see that the poet feels no sentimental constraint to portray his situation as rosier than it is, so that when moments of simple pleasure during travel or meals or intimacy are recounted, they can be trusted. A sunset book and a seacoast book, *Foreign Neon* is aware of the lights and darks of human life, of the tidal rhythms in experience, and of poetic resources that can make something personal and durable of them. □

EXCHANGE.

(*Continued From Page 182*)

tics of Heroin that I cited, McCoy says of the C.I.A.'s *contra* operation that "simply by launching a major covert operation in a strategic drug zone, the C.I.A. contributed, albeit indirectly, to a major expansion of America's cocaine supply." McCoy provided no evidence for this assertion in his book and does not even mention it in his letter; I still do not know on what basis he makes such a sweeping statement. As for Laos and Afghanistan, the C.I.A. no doubt knew of the smuggling activities of its allies—one would be a fool to assume otherwise—but to go on to blame the agency for the boom in the world heroin trade indeed seems absurd. From Scott's touting of his own book, one would assume it contains extensive original research; in fact, it's little more than a pastiche of news clippings and Congressional hearings, all seeking to blame the C.I.A. for America's narcotics problem. As Dave Fratello indicates, such assertions serve primarily to distract us from a more serious analysis of our nation's drug problem. *Michael Massing*

CLASSIFIED.

While we reserve the right to edit, reject or reclassify any advertisement, The Nation *wishes its readers to know we don't have the facilities to check the promises made by our advertisers, and we have a strong presumption against censoring any advertisement, especially if we disagree with its politics.*

ANNOUNCEMENTS

INDEPENDENT TELEVISION SERVICE (ITVS) is seeking proposals for film and video projects intended for broadcast on public television. ITVS funds independent producers to create programs of all genres. Open Call deadline: March 16, 1992. For guidelines: ITVS, P.O. Box 75455, St. Paul, MN 55175. (612) 225-9035.

APARTMENTS

UPPER WEST SIDE—NEW YORK SHARE: 7½ rooms, 2 working people. Prefer person 40+. Your own bedroom. Near Columbia. West Village, 15-minute ride. Excellent old building. Doorman. $480/month. (212) 222-8388.

MATURE RESPONSIBLE ADULT from the Midwest looking to apartment-sit in NYC from March 20 through August 1992. (708) 864-8929.

AUDIOCASSETTES

A CONVERSATION WITH I.F. STONE AT 80

Tapes of this unique Nation Institute/New School event are now available. Each 2-tape set is $20. Send check or money order payable to The Nation Institute to: "Stone Tapes," The Nation Institute, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

THE SUPREME COURT AND DAILY LIFE
WHO WILL THE COURT PROTECT IN THE 1990S?

The Nation Institute presents its historic conference of October 21, 1989, and examines the changing relationship of the Supreme Court to civil rights and personal liberties in light of recent Court decisions.

Reproductive and sexual freedom, race and gender discrimination, criminal defense rights, and a broad historical examination of the Supreme Court are some of the topics covered.

Speakers include DENISE CARTY-BENNIA, HAYWOOD BURNS, RHONDA COPELON, ARTHUR KINOY, WILLIAM KUNSTLER, TOM STODDARD, and others.

This 4-part radio series, produced in cooperation with The New School, the New York Council for the Humanities, and WBAI-FM, is available on 2 cassettes for $25 from The Nation Institute, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

GORE VIDAL'S complete "State of the Union" speech, delivered June 30,1990, at *The Nation*'s 125th birthday bash in Berkeley, is now available on audio cassette. Nation Associates may purchase tapes for $10 each; the cost to all others is $15. Price includes postage and handling. Send your order to: The Nation Associates, Gore Vidal Tape, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

RADIO FREE MAINE TAPES. Noam Chomsky, Howard Zinn, Angela Davis, Malcolm X, Middle East conferences, No Hydro Quebec, Gay & Lesbian audiocassette tapes. Send SASE (52¢ postage) to: Roger Leisner, P.O. Box 2705, Augusta, ME 04338; (207) 622-6629.

BED & BREAKFAST

LOS ANGELES near Hollywood. Garden setting. Close to tennis, golf. Children welcome. Pipey & Shank's. Reasonable. (213) 664-4425.

CHICAGO: Nicely furnished apartment, 34th floor, Lake & Loop view. Balcony, pool, exercise room. $450 per week. (616) 469-1416.

Business and Vacation Travelers to Russia & Eastern Europe

Stay in private homes with English speaking families. Experienced, reliable, reasonable rates. Accommodations in all major cities.

For information contact:

INTERNATIONAL BED & BREAKFAST
P.O. Box 823, Huntingdon Valley, PA 19006, U.S.A.
Toll Free 800-422-5283 FAX 215-663-8580

BRUNSWICK, MAINE. Samuel Newman House, circa 1821. Adjoining Bowdoin College. Quiet getaway, homemade breakfast, reasonable. (207) 729-6959.

BOOKLETS

INCONTROVERTIBLE PROOF JESUS FICTIONAL! Josephus created fictional Jesus, Gospels. Scholarly booklet—$5, Abelard, Box 5652-A, Kent, WA 98064 (Details: SASE).

BOOKS

ANARCHIST COOKBOOK available again! $22, postpaid. Complete edition. Barricade Books, Box 1401-R, Secaucus, NJ 07096.

MANUSCRIPTS WANTED, all types. Company with 70-year tradition. "Author's Guide to Subsidy Publishing." 1-800-695-9599.

FEDERAL RESERVE, FRACTIONAL RESERVE & INTEREST-FREE GOVERNMENT CREDIT EXPLAINED in simple language. Book: $19 ppd. Order from: Monetary Science, Box 86-N, Wickliffe, OH 44092.

THE BRIDGER **— Jack Wise Kennedy predicted the disintegration of the USSR and tells how to force Israel to negotiate an independent Palestinian state, and more. 335-page paperback, $18.50 ppd.**
PYRAMID WORKERS PRESS
BOX 2505, GRASS VALLEY CA 95945

BOOK SEARCH SERVICES

AWAITING YOUR BOOK WANTS. Lorraine Zimmerman, Bookseller. P.O. Box 867, Silverado, CA 92676. (714) 649-2690; (800) 728-2073.

Wm CAXTON BOOKSEARCH, Ellison Bay, WI 54210. Please send phone/address with wants. (414) 854-2955.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COMPUTERS

LONGTIME *NATION* EMPLOYEE, now computer consultant, is selling IBM-compatible computers and providing computer training and support to *Nation* readers in the New York City area. Special rates for nonprofit organizations and those on low incomes. Call Mark Rausher at Present Day Products (718) 934-2861.

COUNSELING

PSYCHOANALYTIC PSYCHOTHERAPIST, diversified clinical experience, compassionate, mature. Affordable fees. East midtown NYC: (212) 466-6775; Nassau: (516) 484-1249.

WOMAN PSYCHOTHERAPIST, 20+ years experience, Ph.D. in clinical psychology. Insight-oriented and analytic. Crisis intervention; short-term; long-term intensive psychoanalytic approach. Free consultation. Sliding scale. Carnegie Hall vicinity. (212) 582-5508.

MINORITY MALE PSYCHOTHERAPIST (MSW), Professor at NYU—experienced, sensitive, liberal, adjustable fees, midtown Manhattan (Kips Bay). (212) 685-4918.

LICENSED PSYCHOLOGISTS in private practice. Planetarium Consulting & Psychotherapy Services. Insurance accepted. Moderate fee. Sliding scale. (212) 873-6832.

PSYCHOTHERAPIST (J.D., C.S.W.)—Expertise in creativity, productivity, art and politics as they relate to internal experience. Teaneck. (201) 692-7970.

EDUCATION

Spend a summer in Nicaragua

Visit farms, factories, schools, health clinics and day care centers. Talk to market women, store owners, union leaders, government officials and many others about what is going on in Nicaragua right now.

2 month program with study tour to Nicaragua. Starts June 28. Basic knowledge of Spanish is required

Institute for Int'l Cooperation & Development (IICD)
IICD, P.O. Box 103-B, Williamstown, MA 01267. (413) 458-9828.

SPANISH CLASSES, GUATEMALAN CULTURE. Nonprofit collective; speakers, field trips. Proyecto, Box 962, Byfield, MA 01922. (508) 463-3284.

SPANISH IN GUANAJUATO. Cultural Center of Mexico. Instituto Falcon, Mora 158, Guanajuato, GTO 36000, Mexico; call: (473) 2-36-94

Learn Spanish in a Solidarity Environment CETLALIC

In Mexico! Pablo Freire's methodology. Study Spanish & Latin American Culture. Experience community life and live with a Mexican family.

Write **CETLALIC,** AP 1-201, Cuernavaca, Morelos Mexico 62001, Phone: (73) 13-35-79

LEARN SPANISH IN GUATEMALA, help the poor while you learn. One-on-one instruction, room and board with local family, work projects in nearby communities. (415) 868-1786.

EDUCATION

¡Speak Spanish like a diplomat!®

Learn on your own with audio-cassette courses used by U.S. State Dept. Programmed for easy learning, 76 languages in all. Comprehensive. Call or write for free catalog. **1-800-243-1234** Our 20th year.

AUDIO-FORUM® Dept. 805 Guilford, CT 06437

GAMES & PUZZLES

THE NATION'S BEST PUZZLES! Book 6 of these British-style crosswords, $6.95 postpaid. Write E.S. Lewis, 125 Quaker Lane, Rochester, MA 02770.

MERCHANDISE

RUSSIAN TYPEWRITERS. $175. New Olympia-Unis. Also others. Jacob Sachs, 251 West 98th Street, New York, NY 10025. (212) 222-6683.

JUST SAY NO TO GEORGE. Bumper stickers. $3 each. Wolfpeaches, Rt. 3, Box 455, Raymond, WA 98577.

DUKE/BUSH IN '92: Bumper sticker. $5/each. Proceeds go to defeat Bush. P.O. Box 361, 532 LaGuardia Place, New York, NY 10012.

JUST VETO BUSH

I'D RATHER BE WORKING ★ VOTE DEMOCRAT ★

↑ BLUE ↓

BUSH/DUKE TWO BRANCHES, SAME TREE

↑RED↓

NONE OF THE ABOVE IN '92

BUMPER • SUCH A STICKERS • DEAL!

Any 5 for $7.50
Any 25 for $22.50
100 & UP .50 EACH

Check or M.O. to:
Cause & Effect, P.O. 36324
Charlotte NC 28236 (S&H inc.)

NATION CASES AND BINDERS

Organize and protect your back issues of *The Nation*. Both cases and binders are covered in an attractive dark red leatherette with a gold *Nation* logo. 1 case or binder holds 6 months (1 volume).

Cases $7.95, 3 for $21.95, 6 for $39.95.
Binders $9.95, 3 for $27.95, 6 for $52.95.
Add $1 per unit for postage/handling.

Send order to: The Nation, Jesse Jones Industries, Dept N 499 E. Erie Ave., Philadelphia, PA 19134
Major credit cards accepted for orders over $15
To charge call 1-(800) 825-6690

Allow 4 to 6 weeks for delivery.

Foreign orders add $2.50/unit. Payment in U.S. currency. Pa. residents add 7% sales tax.

ORGANIZATIONS

NATIONAL WRITERS UNION. Collective bargaining. Grievance procedures. Health insurance. Journalists, authors, poets, commercial writers. National Writers Union, Box C, 13 Astor Place, New York, NY 10003.

IF YOU'D LIKE TO EXCHANGE VIEWS with other *Nation* readers in the South Bay of Los Angeles, join the monthly discussion groups—Sundays, 3:30-5:00. Call: (213) 379-0426.

ALBANY-AREA *Nation* readers are invited to join a Nation Associate discussion group. For information about the next meeting, call (518) 439-5240.

IF YOU'D LIKE TO EXCHANGE VIEWS with other *Nation* readers in Eugene, Oregon, consider forming a local monthly discussion group. Call: (503) 688-0241.

PERSONALS

PERSONALS ADVERTISERS

A Nation Box number and weekly forwarding service is available for a one-time $15 charge added to the cost of your classified ad.

CONCERNED SINGLES NEWSLETTER
links compatible singles who care about peace, social justice, and the environment
National and international membership.
All ages. Since 1984. Free sample:
Box 555-A, Stockbridge, MA 01262.

CLASSICAL MUSIC LOVERS' EXCHANGE®. Nationwide link between unattached music lovers. 1-800-233-CMLS. Box 31, Pelham, NY 10803.

SINGLE BOOKLOVERS gets cultured singles acquainted. Nationwide. Established 1970. Write: SBL, Box 117, Gradyville, PA 19039, or call: (215) 358-5049.

ONE MORE WISH: SM, 40s/50s, emotionally and physically healthy, socially committed, open-hearted, for walks, talks, friendship, affection. I am SF, capable, fun, attractive. Hiking boots, kids, dogs welcome. VT to DC. Nation Box 857.

NEAT, CURIOUS, ANALYTIC, COLOR-BLIND, handy interdependent Washington man, 41, seeking slender business-minded woman to share conversation, outdoors, cuisine and stable intimacy. Box 191, Annandale, VA 22003.

GENTLE WOMAN, unreconstructed adventurer, untiring competitor (but lacking guile) seeks man of similar stamp. P.O. Box 384, *Dover, NH 03820.*

SM, 60, CURIOUS, competent, left, i.e. pro-good things, anti-bad stuff. Wants companionable, compatible SF. Box 1215, Topanga, CA 90290.

NYC WOMAN, 33, successful editor, magical cook; seeks man who can discuss classics, chop wood and rock cradle with equal aplomb. Nation Box 861.

SWM, 39, FRUSTRATED FEMINIST, Berkeley native, former New Yorker, now bored bureaucrat in D.C., seeks woman friend, 30-50, to share conversation, cuddling, travel, avant-garde arts, durable relationship. Nation Box 862.

35-YEAR-OLD GAY PRISONER—doing 5 years for drunk driving, soon to be released, looking for gay, lesbian or straight penpals who are socially conscious. My incarceration has left me isolated from outside world and very, very lonely. Please write (SASE): Emmette Mitchell, C-22649C-8-104, P.O. Box 29, Represa, CA 95671.

SWF, YOUNG 62, seeking non-matrimonial connection. Lives in the Smoking Section and risk taker in general. Partial to adventurous gentleman, preferably European roots. NY area. Nation Box 864.

If responding to a Nation Box number send replies to: Nation Box _____, The Nation, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

COMMUNITY JOBS: The Employment Newspaper for the Non-Profit Sector. A unique monthly publication with more than 200 new job listings each issue. Featuring informative articles, book reviews, resource lists, profiles of nonprofit organizations and entrepreneurs. Call for free information: (617) 720-5627; or write:ACCESS, 50 Beacon St., Boston, MA 02108.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLASSIFIED.

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

WORK IN NICARAGUA
APSNICA is seeking volunteers in all fields, skilled and unskilled to work in Nicaragua. Architects, building tradespeople, computer personnel, engineers, mechanics, medical personnel, English teachers, planners and others are encouraged to contact us. Call: 213-455-1340; write: APSNICA P.O. Box 1151, Topanga, CA 90290.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR for the National Lawyers Guild, a nationwide organization of lawyers, law students and legal workers. Responsible for administration, staff supervision, fundraising and political leadership. Experience in nonprofit management, fundraising and progressive politics desired. Willing to possibly relocate from New York City in 1992. Salary range: $35-38,000, plus benefits. Send résumé, names of 3 references by February 14 to: Search Committee, National Lawyers Guild, 55 Sixth Avenue, New York, NY 10013.

AN OPPORTUNITY TO SHARE THE WORK of a dynamic 10-year-old nonprofit corporation committed to hospitality through sheltering, housing and education. Residential internships or membership. Community model, Christian feminist spirituality, environmentally aware lifestyle. Suitable for singles, couple or family. Full description on request. Write to: Wellspring House, Inc., 302 Essex Avenue, Gloucester, MA 01930.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR—DEEP DISH TV, a growing national network of activist television producers, programmers and community organizers, seeks executive director. Experience in fundraising and organizational development with strong planning and management skills desired. The position requires a commitment to the creative use of television in movements for social and economic justice. Person desired who combines long-term vision with ability to respond well to changing world events. People of color, lesbians and gay men, and women encouraged to apply. Salary negotiable based on experience. Send cover letter, résumé and 3 references to: Executive Director Search, Deep Dish TV, 339 Lafayette Street, New York, NY 10012. Start date: March 1, 1992.

CHURCH/SOCIAL JUSTICE MINISTRY seeks dedicated, experienced Administrative Assistant. WordPerfect mastery required. Send salary requirements and résumé to: Church of Gethsemane, 1012 Eighth Avenue, Brooklyn, NY 11215.

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

HOME TYPISTS, PC users needed. $35,000 potential. Details. Call (1) 805-962-8000, Ext. B-3596.

PROGRESSIVE QUARTERLY staffperson. Business skills/office administration: bookkeeping, marketing, fundraising, some editing. Magazine experience preferred, political activism a plus. Women/minorities encouraged. Long hours, low pay. By March 15th: JobSearch, P.O. Box 34583, Washington, DC 20043.

POSITIONS DESIRED

INTELLIGENT, ARTICULATE FORMER *NATION* INTERNS skilled in research, fact-checking, editing and writing looking for meaningful employment in New York, Washington and elsewhere. Available starting immediately. Call Peter Meyer at (212) 242-8400.

RUSSIAN NATIVE/US RESIDENT 15 years. Seeks position as liaison/expediter/interpreter for profit/nonprofit sectors. Strong mediation/interpersonal skills with solid understanding of the business mentality and motivations of both cultures. Please contact Michael Tulchinsky, Rt. 2, Creek Rd., Wading River, NY 11792, (516) 929-8443.

PUBLICATIONS

THE PEOPLE. Marxist biweekly. Since 1891. 4 months/$1. 1 year/$4. The People (N), PO Box 50218, Palo Alto, CA 94303.

INTERNATIONAL MAGAZINE CONSULTANT seeks individual with detailed up-to-date information on the state of the magazine industry in Russia and/or Eastern Europe. Please call Robert Cohen at (212) 995-5500.

DOES JUSTICE "UNCLE" THOMAS'S DOG eat Senator Danforth's Purina Dog Chow? Read the January-February issue of "Contemporary Indications of a Conspiracy." $3.95. Annual subscriptions: $17.97. HLI, P.O. Box 49502, Wichita, KS 67201.

DOCUMENTS FROM THE CPUSA'S 25th CONVENTION in January issue of CrossRoads: Herbert Aptheker's speech; "Initiative to Unite and Renew the Party"; excerpts from Gus Hall's report; interviews with Carl Bloice, Charlene Mitchell; analysis by Max Elbaum. Also: Papers from DSA's 1991 Convention. $4 (subscriptions: $24/year): CrossRoads, P.O. Box 2809, Oakland, CA 94609.

PUBLICATIONS

CUBA AT YOUR DOORSTEP. Latest in Cuban books, magazines, music and videocassettes, graphics and posters now available through direct importer and sent by U.S. mail. Write: Publications Exchange, 8306 Mills Drive, #241N, Miami, FL 33183, for catalogs; or call: (305) 256-0162.

LEFT BUSINESS OBSERVER — a monthly newsletter on economics and politics worldwide. "A salutary antidote to the economic mush in mainstream periodicals." — Alexander Cockburn. One year $20. Left Business Observer (Dept. N), 250 West 85th Street, New York, NY 10024.

TECHNOCRACY—TECHNOLOGICAL SOCIAL DESIGN available for $3 from Technocracy Inc., Continental Headquarters, Savannah, OH 44874.

SMALL TOWN, the voice of small town America. Articles on planning, preservation, attracting industry, housing, shopping malls, central business district improvement and other matters of interest to small communities. Individual membership in The Small Town Institute, $30. Box 517, Ellensburg, WA 98926. Just out, "Promoting the Arts in Small Communities," $6. Special prices for bulk orders.

FOOTNOTE ON AN HISTORIC CASE: IN RE ALGER HISS. William A. Reuben identifies 114 errors in the Federal District Court of New York's 1982 decision upholding Hiss's conviction for perjury in 1950. This flawed decision, upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1983, stands as the last legal word on one of the most celebrated cases in modern history. 1 copy $5, 10 copies $40. Make check/money order payable to The Nation Institute and send to: "Hiss," The Nation, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

THE ROSENBERG DEBATE TRANSCRIPT AND TAPES. The historic debate, "Were the Rosenbergs Framed?" sponsored by *The Nation* and *The New Republic* at Town Hall on October 20, 1983, can be purchased in typed transcript and/or cassette tape form. Complete transcripts are available for $24 each; tape cassettes are $19 each. Special discounts available on orders of 5 or more. Make check/money order payable to The Nation Institute and send to: "Rosenbergs," The Nation, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. For more information, call (212) 242-8400.

REAL ESTATE

GOVERNMENT HOMES from $1 (U repair). Delinquent tax property. Repossessions. Your area (1) 805-962-8000 Ext. GH-3596 for current repo list.

SAN FRANCISCO PENINSULA. *Nation* supporter offers real estate services. Ruth Vurek, Broker: (415) 940-1123.

SERVICES

TRANSLATIONS—from German, Dutch, French into English. All subjects, reasonable rates. Tel/Fax: (212) 865-2274.

CLASSIFIED ORDER FORM

Rates STANDARD $1.75/word, 15-word minimum. CLASSIFIED DISPLAY 1-inch minimum; camera-ready $70/column inch; not camera-ready $70/column inch plus a one-time setting charge of $20/inch. FREQUENCY DISCOUNTS For consecutive runs only; 4 ads for the price of 3; 10 for the price of 7; 25 for the price of 15, 52 for the price of 26. PERSONALS For individuals 2 ads for the price of 1, 4 for the price of 2, etc.; no other discounts apply; *Nation* box number/weekly forwarding service one-time charge of $15; for commercial advertisers standard rates apply.

Deadline Wednesday, 4 PM, 26 days prior to Monday issue date.

To THE NATION
Classified Department
72 Fifth Avenue, N.Y., NY 10011

Enclosed is my check for $_____ for _____ week(s), plus _____ week(s) free.

Be sure to include payment for *Nation* box number/forwarding service or classified display setting charge, if applicable.

Advertiser _____

Address _____ City _____

State _____ Zip _____ Phone _____

Attach ad, typewritten if possible.

Payment in U.S. currency must accompany order.

GAY TO STRAIGHT
Can It Be Done?
Sexuality derives from personality. Just as you make personal changes in your life, so heterosexuality can become a natural, self-fulfilling, joyous experience.
How?
You don't need to be converted or insulted. Instead, you can use a proven, well thought-out, positive and understanding approach.
Any gay or bisexual man or woman can do it even if they've never experienced a heterosexual desire.
Many already have.
IT CAN BE DONE
Call:(310)202-0670
for more information. All calls kept confidential.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SERVICES

EXPERT HOUSEPAINTER—and socially conscious, too. Prompt, neat, reasonable rates. Airless sprayer for large spaces. 10 years experience. References. Free estimate. Call and leave message: (718) 789-1944.

SUMMER CAMPS

CAMP KINDERLAND—Peace, justice and the time of their lives. August openings; scholarships available. (212) 255-6283.

TRAVEL

STUDY/WORK/LIVE/OVERSEAS! Plan your next overseas adventure with *Transitions Abroad*, Box 344-56841, Amherst, MA 01004. Sample copy available: $3.50.

EUROPE—$160! from East Coast, $269! from West Coast. Hitch a ride on a commercial jet! Confirmed seats from all locations at higher rates. AIRHITCH®, (212) 864-2000.

GREEK ISLAND FORTNIGHT: $1750, including airfare, transportation, accommodation, extra week free. Beautiful, authentic locations, off beaten track for nature-lovers, artists etc. Iconoclastic Tours: (718) 434-5936.

TRAVEL CENTER FOR SINGLES. 18 years arranging vacations for single people. Solo Flights, 127 So. Compo Rd., Westport, CT 06880. (203) 226-9993.

FLY CHEAP!

TRAVEL UNLIMITED

is the one and only monthly update of current worldwide courier flight information for the impulsive vagabond or travel sophisto.

TRAVEL UNLIMITED

provides you with the most current listings of cities and fares available as an air courier. Recent examples: Hong Kong: $450 r/t, Amsterdam: $199 r/t, Buenos Aires: $500 r/t, and many others.

Send a $25 ($35 foreign) check or money order to:

TRAVEL UNLIMITED
P.O. Box 1058, Allston, MA 02134-1058

X-WORD PUZZLES

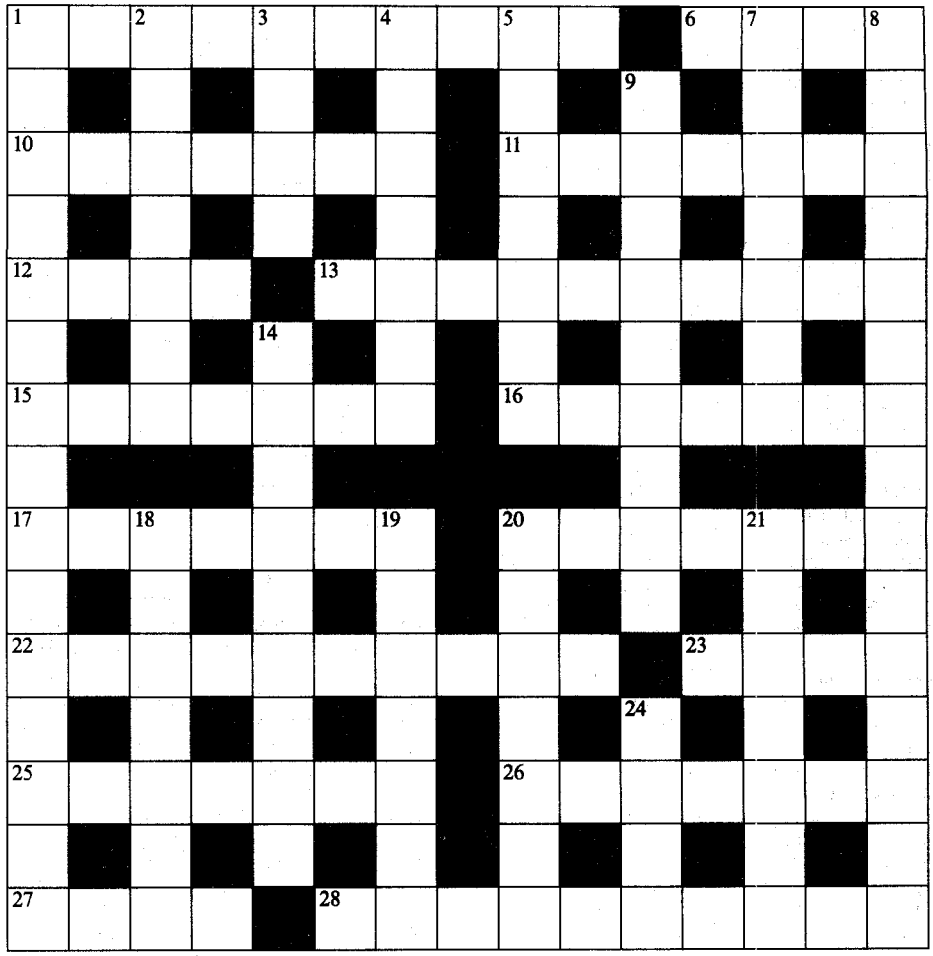
15th Annual American
CROSSWORD PUZZLE
Tournament
• March 20–22 •
Stamford (CT) Marriott Hotel
17 Events! $1,775 in Prizes!
For info/free brochure
Call (212) 727-7100

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 2369

V	I	R	T	U	E	I	S	I	T	S	O	W	N	■	
E	■	A	■	P	■	N	■	N	■	I	■	■	■	W	
G	O	I	N	T	O	H	I	D	I	N	G	■	■	R	
E	■	N	■	H	■	A	■	I	■	K	■	B	■	I	
T	A	B	L	E	C	L	O	T	H	■	F	L	A	G	
A	■	O	■	C	■	E	■	I	■	S	■	O	■	H	
R	E	W	A	R	D	■	K	N	O	C	K	O	U	T	
I	■	T	■	E	■	I	■	G	■	U	■	D	■	B	
A	G	R	E	E	I	N	G	■	C	L	O	S	E	R	
N	■	O	■	K	■	T	■	B	■	P	■	T	■	O	
D	R	U	G	■	M	A	R	Y	S	T	U	A	R	T	
I	■	T	■	E	■	G	■	S	■	U	■	I	■	H	
E	■	■	A	T	C	L	O	S	E	R	A	N	G	E	
T	■	■	■	U	■	I	■	H	■	E	■	E	■	R	
■	S	P	L	I	T	O	N	E	S	S	I	D	E	S	

Crossword Puzzle No. 2370

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Takes the places of something around one, such as beggars, in a way. (10)
6 A loser, red and hairy, in the scribe's autobiography. (4)
10 The face value of a small cut in the vegetable market, possibly. (7)
11 One whose case hasn't come up yet, with the international body sort of tired? (7)
12 See 24 down
13 At least one of Cooper's men must have known his way around. (10)
15 The Off-Broadway actors featuring one from Poker Flat? (7)
16 A little modern jive left at sea, with a sympathetic relationship. (7)
17 Finally made plain language out of something very fishy indeed! (7)
20 The firearms seem more than warm showing the range of it. (7)
22 What one held was probably light. (10)
23 Steady company? (4)
25 Timed to arrange for what is left out? (7)
26 A little boy has a racket that suggests one that became well-known as rubber. (7)
27 Pronounces the law that the supply of goods is always matched by demand . . . (4)
28 . . . and possibly saved tires, as one spreads the word. (10)

DOWN

1 Those such as Toscanini were not necessarily the electronic type. (15)
2 Simian type in part, as a means of defense. (7)
3 Want something shortly? Quite the opposite! (4)
4 How to make Cleo's nemesis stop on the road? (7)
5 It might be harder to add an exclamation of disgust, and one of hesitation. (7)
7 Misbehaving kids get to do nothing but what used to be associated with 23. (7)
8 The British are notorious for such things, below what are rendered to show the balance. (15)
9 Very soft one in a rather thin line of what follows weather for keeping out the cold. (8)
14 "Can do!" in the past consumed a runner, of sorts. (9)
18 Rather leery of getting around it, which is supposed to begin where you live. (7)
19 Commanded uprising with a fancy dude being fooled. (7)
20 Possibly angered when what should explode exploded. (7)
21 His road is rough, typified by old pomp and possibly the old beehive. (7)
24 and 12 across Scottish charms, with insincere statements accompanied by tears. (8)

PUZZLE BOOK

Book 6 of "*The Nation*'s Best Puzzles" is available for $6.95. Send your check or money order to: E.S. Lewis, 125 Quaker Lane, Rochester, MA 02770.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

To ***really*** understand U.S. Policy: **Get the new 2-Hour CHOMSKY/JCOME Video**

Just Say *"NO"* To Israel

More Killings, Torture, Repression...

More Illegal Settlements, Deportations, Confiscations...

More Intransigence, Doubletalk, Violations of international law...

Yet more demands for more American money and support!

...Until Israel accepts Palestinian rights to the same self-determination it demands for itself;
...Until Israel lives up to international law and Security Council Resolutions;
...Until Israel stops building illegal settlements across the Green Line;
...Until Israel stops brutally repressing the Palestinians and ends its military occupation;

The answer should be *"NO"*

No more billions and No "Loan Gaurantees"... Not until...

Achieving real peace requires knowing when to say "No" as well as when to say "Yes"

The Jewish Committee On The Middle East

[illegible] Jewish professors at over 100 universities and [illegible] thousands of supporters nationwide

[illegible] JCOME's brochure and "Statement of Peace Principles"

[illegible] JCOME [illegible]

JCOME Advisory Committee

Dr. Yigal Arens - Univ. of Southern CA
Prof. Michael Astour - Historical Studies, Univ. Southern IL
Prof. Joel Beinin - Mid East History, Stanford Univ.
Mark Bruzonsky - Former Wash. Rep., World Jewish Congress
Prof. Noam Chomsky - Linguistics Dept., M.I.T.
Prof. Richard Falk - Princeton Univ.
Prof. Leon Hadar - American Univ.; Washington, D.C.
Prof. Herbert Hill - Univ. of WI, Madison
Jeremy Levin - Former CNN Beirut Bureau Chief
Prof. Zachary Lockman - Mid East History, Harvard Univ.
Prof. Seymour Melman - Columbia Univ.
Dr. Eileen Newmark - Ph.D., Intercultural Communications
Prof. Don Peretz - Mid East Studies; SUNY, Binghamton
Henry Schwarzschild - New York
Prof. J. David Singer - Univ. of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Richard Walden - Attorney, L.A.

"For Israel to change its policy it must be coerced... It is our duty to call upon the U.S. to stop giving money to Israel..."
Former Gen. Matti Peled
Israel Army General Staff, '67 War

"Israel, drove [illegible] myself join with JCOME and [illegible] such a committee [illegible] in the U.S. [illegible] support [illegible] Israel [illegible] the [illegible]"

Whether you are Jewish or not, please join this *"Just Say 'NO' to Israel"* campaign for real peace. All new supporters contributing $50 or more will receive the new JCOME 2-hour video: NOAM CHOMSKY ON THE NEW WORLD ORDER & THE MIDDLE EAST.

Name: _____

Address: _____

City: _____ **State:** _____ **Zip:** _____

Home Phone: _____ Work Phone: _____

Affiliation (if any): _____

Contribution: $100___ $50___ $25___ $_____

Please help as much as you possibly can at this critical time. Thank you.
Send Chomsky video in VHS_____ Beta_____ 8mm_____

Send to: JCOME; P.O.Box 18367; Washington, D.C. 20036

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED